

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, June 2, 1992

The House met at 12 noon.

The Reverend Barbara St. Andrews, executive director of medicine and philosophy, California Pacific Medical Center, San Francisco, CA, offered the following prayer:

Most Holy Sovereign, whose power to serve takes residence in us, we acknowledge Your presence in our midst and ask Your guidance in the decisions we must make to preserve and guide Your world. Keep us mindful that we share Your spirit with all people, that our own limitations seek amendment by Your grace. Enable us to see difficult problems differently, to become yielding disciples of life. We ask that our attention may be directed by Your larger purposes, not by expected results, that we may be open in each moment to gifts of inbreaking surprise and hopes reinforced by lives surrendered to Your power. Teach us to work together for just and courageous causes, not separately for personal causes. In patience, in peace, and always in Your name, Amen.

for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, in a little more than a week, Members of this body will face one of the most important votes you will ever cast while you are a Member of Congress. You will have the historic opportunity to pass a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Even Thomas Jefferson said:

If I could pass just one amendment to the Constitution, I would pass the amendment which provides that the government cannot borrow money.

Well, to this day, the words of Thomas Jefferson still ring in our ears.

We know the problem. The problem is a \$400 billion deficit, \$4 trillion in debt. We know it is time for a change, which people are crying for. We know it is time to begin to restrain spending.

So what is the solution for our children, for our economy, for our country? The solution is support the Stenholm-Smith amendment to balance the budget of the U.S. Treasury.

ment went after Nazis and pursued headlines.

Now our Justice Department has headaches.

The tragedy is that the Demjanjuk family has heartaches over this matter. It is time for Israel to set him free, bring him back home to America. Our Government should be ashamed for kicking the rights of this man down the drain, because his case was sensitive.

There are no asterisks in our Constitution. What is our country coming to?

Ivan Marchenko is Ivan the Terrible. John Demjanjuk is a retired auto-worker from Cleveland.

NOTICE

We wish to inform all Members of Congress that today's Congressional Record has been printed entirely on paper manufactured from 100-percent postconsumer recovered material.

CHARLIE ROSE, *Chairman*,
Joint Committee on Printing.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MAZZOLI] come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. MAZZOLI led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO BALANCE THE BUDGET

(Mr. SMITH of Oregon asked and was given permission to address the House

THE CASE OF JOHN DEMJANJUK

(Mr. TRAFICANT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, John Demjanjuk, the retired Cleveland auto-worker, was convicted and sentenced to death as being Ivan the Terrible of Treblinka, the gas chamber operated to kill nearly 1 million Jews.

Demjanjuk claims he was innocent from the beginning.

Now since that conviction, there are over 70 statements from 37 different individuals that named Ivan Grossny Ivan the Terrible, as a man named Ivan Marchenko, taller, older, black hair, long scar on the neck.

Demjanjuk, blond hair, no scar on the neck.

Mr. Speaker, John Demjanjuk is not Ivan the Terrible. Our Justice Depart-

IN SUPPORT OF THE BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT

(Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of our opportunity next week to vote for a balanced budget amendment. Certainly there cannot be anything more important to this Government than to be fiscally responsible.

There is great discussion now in the news about the fact that we do not need a constitutional amendment, that a constitutional amendment will not do any good.

The fact is that for 30 years we have not been fiscally responsible in this Government and we need a procedural change. We need something that provides to this Congress and to this President and other Presidents a constitutional restraint on spending more than we take in.

It is interesting and frustrating, frankly, to hear last week in a committee that I am in to authorize a bill for housing 21 percent over the previous year's spending and expect to balance the budget.

Just last week on this floor, we talked about the National Institutes for Health, a wonderful institution, one we need, \$3 billion over the President's request on a \$5 billion process.

There is no way that this Congress will balance the budget without the constitutional restraint, and I urge my colleagues to support it when it comes up in the near future.

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

REMEMBERING THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE TIANANMEN MASSACRE

(Mr. ABERCROMBIE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ABERCROMBIE. Mr. Speaker, 3 years after the June 4 Tiananmen massacre, China's human rights record falls far short of internationally recognized standards. No American who witnessed the horrifying sight of armed troops slaughtering hundreds of peaceful students in Tiananmen Square can be comfortable with a China policy that fails to register our clear outrage.

Mr. Speaker, as we remember this sad day, I would like to pay a special tribute to Wang Dan, one of the prominent student leaders of the prodemocracy movement in Beijing. Wang was arrested on July 2, 1989, after requesting help in fleeing China from a Taiwanese journalist. Although apprehended in July, his arrest was only acknowledged a month later.

Authorities charged him with counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement, and in mid-1990 he was held in solitary confinement and required to write confessional materials every day. Wang has never admitted to the charges laid against him. His government appointed lawyer could only defend him on condition that he pleaded guilty.

Mr. Speaker, how many more of those like Wang Dan have been sentenced merely for voicing their yearning for democracy, human rights, and freedom. We must not forget them. They must be freed.

They have turned to the United States, Mr. Speaker. Chinese democracy leaders have told me explicitly that most favored nation is by far the most effective means of bringing American influence to bear on human rights issues. In my meeting with the Dalai Lama, he made it clear that most favored nation is the strongest lever that we can use to secure progress in the area of human rights. There is only one way, Mr. Speaker, deny the President's renewal of conditional most favored nation for China.

□ 1210

CONTROLLING COSTS CITED AS ONLY RESPONSIBLE WAY TO ADDRESS HEALTH CARE CRISIS

(Mr. GOSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, our Nation's health care crisis is not news to anyone anymore. What is news is the fact that this crisis can be addressed without making brash and irresponsible promises of free health care for everyone. We cannot shift the blame to business or impose simplistic caps on health

care expenditures. We must address this problem realistically. Three of my colleagues and I have introduced legislation that improves upon the idea of incremental reform we started 2 years ago. We are building consensus by addressing the problem the only responsible way—controlling costs. Lower costs means greater access to millions of Americans. This legislation channels waste and mismanagement into real health care dollars savings which can be utilized for underserved individuals. There is a reason our health care delivery system has failed us and now there is a solution—join me in cosponsoring H.R. 4280—we owe it to our constituents to become part of the solution.

WE SHOULD PRESERVE, CONSERVE, AND REHABILITATE ALL THE WORLD'S RAIN FORESTS

(Mr. VENTO asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I was astounded by President Bush's call for \$150 million to manage forests around the globe. The fact of the matter is that the Bush policy at home has been a political clear cut of our temperate rain forests.

Mr. Speaker, the need is for global treaties and agreements that deal effectively with the protection of that fauna and flora biodiversity that exists. And the Bush administration has reneged, has backslided on signing treaties—agreements that address biodiversity—just as the President personally intervened to weaken and shattered the goals of achieving a compact on greenhouse gases that are, of course, damaging our environment.

Mr. Speaker, the answer is, of course, to preserve, conserve, and rehabilitate all of our rainforests whether in tropical or temperate areas and the biodiversity so important on planet Earth.

Pumping more dollars into reforestation by the President to underwrite global forests after advocacy of a policy to write off forests to clear cut around the globe is deficient, to say the least. In fact, sound policy should begin at home. It should begin in the U.S. forests and public lands not the Bush administration policy being pursued nor the rhetorical statement around the world yesterday that the President voiced.

Predictably, the reaction of the world community has been condemnation of the Bush policy with nonmanagement of rainforests. And the rejection of overall environmental agreements. Neither the world community nor the American people are going to be bought off concerning our national and international natural heritage.

STRUGGLING DEMOCRACIES WOULD IMPROVE MANUFACTURING BASE WITH U.S. HELP

(Mr. UPTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. UPTON. Mr. Speaker, we all realize that our Nation does not live in a vacuum and that economic stability in the world is a prerequisite for a peaceful environment here at home. In order to address these needs, I have introduced H.R. 4839, with Congressman HOWARD WOLPE, which would send technical teams of U.S. professionals overseas to assist struggling democracies in improving their manufacturing base. The idea is simple common sense and would not require any new appropriations.

In order to receive this technical assistance, foreign nations need to be in the process of developing a free market economy and to have a manufacturing sector which is inefficient and unproductive. These teams of American professionals would help individual companies modernize their plants with U.S. products and expertise.

This program would employ Americans, bolster the economies of struggling democracies, and our economy as well. With the end of the cold war, and an emerging global economy, we have got to make sure that our foreign aid programs support not just American ideals but also American workers and products.

H.R. 4839 is a bargain for America and would promote our Nation's economy and ideals. I would urge my colleagues to support and cosponsor this bipartisan legislation.

TARGETED JOBS TAX CREDIT

(Mr. EDWARDS of Texas asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EDWARDS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, over the years, the effectiveness of the targeted jobs tax credit [TJTC] as a hiring tool has been well documented. This program helps economically disadvantaged individuals find meaningful employment by providing a tax credit incentive for employers who hire targeted categories of unemployed Americans. One of the specific TJTC categories is Vietnam-era veterans.

This bill would broaden the eligibility requirement, changing Vietnam-era veterans, to conflict-era veterans. Thus, this legislation would make all veterans who may be experiencing employability problems eligible for participation in the TJTC Program. Recent studies indicate that approximately one-third of the Nation's homeless are veterans. TJTC could be a useful tool in prevention of long-term unemployment if used effectively with our newest generation of wartime vet-

erans. I firmly believe this is a small, but extremely effective, incentive to do this.

I urge you to join me in support of this measure to assist those most deserving men and women who served, and will serve, in our Nation's defense.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE HONORABLE ROBERT H. MICHEL, MINORITY LEADER

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MONTGOMERY) laid before the House the following communication from the Honorable ROBERT H. MICHEL, minority leader:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, June 1, 1992.

Hon. THOMAS S. FOLEY,
Speaker of the House, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to Sec. 6010(d)(1)(C) of Public Law 102-240, I hereby appoint Mr. George Ebersole of Chicago, Illinois, to serve as a member of the National Council on Surface Transportation Research.

Sincerely,

ROBERT H. MICHEL,
Minority Leader.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE HONORABLE J. DENNIS HASTERT, MEMBER OF CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Honorable DENNIS J. HASTERT, Member of Congress:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, June 1, 1992.

Hon. THOMAS FOLEY,
Speaker of the House,
The Capitol, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: This is to formally notify you pursuant to Rule L (50) of the Rules of the House that I have been served with a subpoena issued by the Circuit Court of Kane County, Illinois, in the case of Roger X. Baker vs. Osco Drug Company (American Drugstores).

After consultation with the General Counsel to the Clerk, I have determined that compliance with the subpoena is consistent with the privileges and precedents of the House.

Sincerely,

J. DENNIS HASTERT,
Member of Congress.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

WASHINGTON, DC,
May 29, 1992.

Hon. THOMAS S. FOLEY,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: This is to notify you pursuant to Rule L (50) of the Rules of the House that I have been served with a subpoena issued by the United States District Court for the District of Maryland.

After consultation with my General Counsel, I have determined that compliance with the subpoena is consistent with the privileges and precedents of the House.

With great respect, I am

Sincerely yours,

DONALD K. ANDERSON,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the provisions of clause 5 of rule I, the Chair announces that he will postpone further proceedings today on each motion to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or on which the vote is objected to under clause 4 of rule XV.

Such rollcall votes, if postponed, will be taken on Wednesday, June 3, 1992.

EXTENSION OF AUTHORIZATION FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION FUND

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4801) to amend the National Historic Preservation Act to extend the authorization for the Historic Preservation Fund.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 4801

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 108 of the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470h), is further amended by striking "1992" and inserting in lieu thereof "1997".

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Minnesota, [Mr. VENTO] will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VENTO].

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on H.R. 4801, the bill presently under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 4801, which I introduced at the administration's request, and which has bipartisan support, would amend the National Historic Preservation Act to extend to 1997 the period for which deposits are credited to the historic preservation fund. The historic preservation fund, which is annually credited with \$150 million, derived from offshore oil and gas receipts, provides matching Federal funds for the national trust for historic preservation as well as matching Federal funds for State historic preservation programs and projects. This preserva-

tion partnership has been responsible over the years for much of this Nation's preservation efforts. By assisting States to have professional preservation programs and by supporting the efforts of the national trust for historic preservation, the historic preservation fund stretches Federal dollars in very worthy ways.

Although important, H.R. 4801 is primarily technical. Still, there is a time sensitivity in acting on this bill because the existing authorization of deposits to the historic preservation fund expires September 30, 1992. At the hearing before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands on this bill, both the administration and the public witnesses testified in its favor. I support H.R. 4801 and urge passage of this noncontroversial measure by the House.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4801, a bill which would extend the authorization for the historic preservation fund at the current ceiling of \$150 million annually through fiscal year 1997.

Mr. Speaker, on this side of the aisle, we support the historic preservation programs as described by the chairman and funded under this bill. This historic preservation fund is a critical element of our country's program to save historic buildings, sites and objects. While we believe that a greater percentage of the funds authorized under this program should go to actual bricks and mortar construction projects, instead of bureaucrat salaries and studies, we do support the overall program, at least in part because the inherent matching requirements of this program ensure these funds will be effectively spent.

I join with the administration in supporting this measure introduced by Chairman VENTO, but I must point out that it is somewhat ironic to me that certain Members are supporting huge outlays from the receipts of offshore oil and gas sales in terms of the historic preservation fund and the land and water conservation fund at the same time they are advocating drastic cuts in the offshore energy programs of this country. These two positions are on a direct collision course.

□ 1220

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, of course, in supporting this, I want to point out to the Members that historically, the historic preservation fund has been growing and has well over \$1.5 billion, in the fund. We want the revenue that is produced from offshore oil and gas to continue to flow in a proportionate

amount to the historic preservation fund as it has in the past. Ideally, we would hope the resource coming from this fund could be used for the myriad of historic preservation projects that need funding within our country that deal with our cultural and historic heritage. Unfortunately, because of budgetary limitations, especially in the last decade, there has been too few dollars which have flowed out of the fund and into physical restoration of resources within the States, and so the fund has held great promise, I might say, Mr. Speaker, but little fulfillment in terms of accomplishing the goals that have been established, but nevertheless, I think, within the decade of the 1990's, hopefully we will witness a more effective advocacy and agenda in terms of our fiscal problems and will be able to finally use these historic preservation funds for the purposes intended.

I want to just point out further, Mr. Speaker, that the concept here is that, as we deplete one resource; that is, our outer continental shelf oil and gas, that we in fact provide those resources to flow for the restoration and preservation of other resources in the historical preservation programs across this country. It is the idea of trying to use the natural resources to help store up the cultural and historic resources, much as we do at the land water conservation fund, which of course addresses itself most specifically to natural resources in the States and in our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I have no requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MONTGOMERY). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VENTO] that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4801.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended, and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 3905) to amend the Historic Preservation Act to authorize appropriations for the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 3905

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 212(a) of the Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.) is amended by deleting the last sentence and inserting in lieu thereof the sentence "There are authorized to be appro-

riated for purposes of this title not to exceed \$5,000,000 in each fiscal year 1992 through 1996."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VENTO] will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VENTO].

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the legislation presently under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 3905, introduced by my Interior Committee colleague Congressman CRAIG THOMAS, increases the authorization of appropriations for the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, established in 1966, provides the Congress, the President, governmental agencies and the public with guidance on the implementation of historic preservation principles and policy. Through its consultations, training courses, and publications it educates about historic preservation's purposes and practices. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation also acts as a referee and reviews actions relating to the Federal Historic Preservation Program.

In testimony before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands, H.R. 3905 received support from both the administration and the public witnesses. The legislation needs expedient action because additional authorization is required if the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation is to receive increased funding in fiscal year 1993 and beyond. Under current law, there is authorized to be appropriated \$2,500,000 annually to carry out the Council's functions. The President's fiscal year 1993 budget requested \$2.798 million for the Council. Without this additional authorization, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation would not be authorized to receive increased appropriations. I support H.R. 3905 and am not aware of any controversy associated with this measure.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 3905, a bill which I sponsored reauthorizing the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation for 5 years. This is a bill which has moved quickly through subcommittee hearings and markup, as

well as through full committee markup. It also has the full support of the administration.

I was pleased to host Mrs. Lucille Dumbrell, a constituent and long-time friend from Newcastle, WY, and member of the Advisory Council, as the Council's witness before the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands. Her enthusiasm for the programs of the Advisory Council was instrumental in my introduction of this bill.

The Advisory Council serves as a facilitator for Federal agencies to comply with the myriad of historic preservation laws and regulations we now have in place. While we each have our own opinion about the burdens that have been created with historic preservation statutes, the Advisory Council provides valuable assistance to Federal agencies in meeting those requirements.

Although this reauthorization bill doubles the appropriation ceiling for the Advisory Council to \$5 million per year, the need for this reauthorization is clear. The fiscal year 1992 Interior appropriations bill exceeded the authorization for the Advisory Council, and the administration's request for fiscal year 1993 does as well. It's my hope and expectation that the Council's requests will remain well below H.R. 3905's ceiling of \$5 million for the duration of the authorization period, but it is good legislative policy to set the authorization to match the appropriations actions of the administration and Congress.

That said, I thank the House and Chairman VENTO for bringing this bill to quick action. I'm pleased that we have moved expeditiously to have this reauthorization complete in time for passage of fiscal year 1993 Interior appropriations bill, and to continue the work of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

Mr. Speaker, I have no requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is appropriate that we recognize, in terms of the Historic Advisory Council, 11 citizen members from across the Nation that serve on the council. Our national policies on historic preservation in these instances is dependent upon the State and historic preservation offices of the 50 States who contract in agreement with the National Park Service to carry out the Historic Preservation Act. From time to time, there are differences of opinion as to what constitutes historic preservation and appropriate actions with regards to actions within the States, and the council has played a unique role in terms of arbitrating differences as to the preservation of historic fabric and appropriate action by a developer to modify historic property.

In addition, my staff and I had the opportunity to work with the Council on Historic Preservation, when there have been differences of opinion concerning the various agencies and National Government. Mr. Speaker, it may be interesting to the body to recognize that, for instance, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA], had in fact a controversy growing about how to handle some of its cultural and historic resources, that existed in various sites that they managed. Clearly, in their enthusiasm, some Members of Congress sought to exempt NASA, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, from the provisions of the Historic Preservation Act. It was the role of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation that interceded and prevailed convincing Members—along with the support of a good number of Members that are interested in such resources—to forgo such exemption. The consequence was an agreement that was obtained by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to, in fact, come up with a plan to deal appropriately with our historic resources—related to NASA.

□ 1230

Mr. Speaker, this is repeated throughout the agencies and departments of our Federal Government, and that is one of the reasons I would ask Members to support this small authorization of appropriation today.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MONTGOMERY). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VENTO] that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 3905.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EMANCIPATION OF THE BAHÁ'IS

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 156) concerning the emancipation of the Baha'i community of Iran, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 156

Whereas in 1982, 1984, 1988, and 1990, the Congress, by concurrent resolution, declared that it holds the Government of Iran responsible for upholding the rights of all its nationals, including members of the Baha'i Faith, Iran's largest religious minority;

Whereas in such resolutions the Congress condemned the Iranian Government's persecution of the Baha'i community, including the execution of more than 200 Baha'is, the imprisonment of thousands of Baha'is, and other oppressive actions against Baha'is based solely upon their religious beliefs;

Whereas the Congress has urged the President to work with other governments and the United Nations in support of the rights of Iranian Baha'is;

Whereas recent reports indicate that most Iranian Baha'is imprisoned because of their religion have been released, and some confiscated business and personal properties of such Baha'is have been restored; and

Whereas despite such actions, the Government of Iran summarily executed a leading member of the Baha'i community in March 1992 and continues to deny the Baha'i community the right to organize, to elect its leaders, to hold community property for worship or assembly, to operate religious schools, and to conduct other normal religious community activities: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress—

(1) continues to hold the Government of Iran responsible for upholding the rights of all its nationals, including members of the Baha'i community, in a manner consistent with Iran's obligations under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international covenants on human rights;

(2) notes that the Government of Iran summarily executed a prominent Iranian Baha'i in March 1992, the first such execution in more than 3 years, and further notes that reports indicate that several Baha'is have been arrested during 1992;

(3) expresses concern that, despite some recent improvements in the treatment of individual Baha'is, the Baha'i community continues to be denied legal recognition, and the basic rights to organize, elect its leaders, educate its youth, and carry on the normal activities of law-abiding religious community;

(4) urges the Government of Iran to extend to the Baha'i community the rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international covenants on human rights, including the freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, and equal protection of the law; and

(5) calls upon the President to continue—

(A) to urge the Government of Iran to emancipate the Baha'i community by granting those rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international covenants on human rights;

(B) to emphasize that the United States regards the human rights practices of the Government of Iran, particularly its treatment of the Baha'i community and other religious minorities, as a significant element in the development of its relations with the Government of Iran; and

(C) to cooperate with other governments and international organizations, including the United Nations and its agencies, in efforts to protect the religious rights of the Baha'is and other minorities through joint appeals to the Government of Iran and through other appropriate actions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON].

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Concurrent Resolution 156 as amended, a resolution which concerns

the emancipation of the Baha'i community in Iran. This resolution was passed out of the Committee on Foreign Affairs on May 21 by voice vote.

The purpose of the resolution is to recognize the responsibility of the Government of Iran for upholding the rights of all its nationals, including the members of the Baha'i faith, Iran's largest religious minority.

This is the fifth time in the last decade that Congress will have recognized this important human rights issue in Iran. Unfortunately, as the recent execution of a Baha'i leader and the recent arrests of several Baha'i community members indicates, these resolutions are still needed. We need to continue to monitor the human rights situation in Iran carefully.

Mr. Speaker, I also want to note that May 29, last Friday, was a day of special significance for the Baha'i community. More than 100,000 Baha'is met in communities across the United States to mark the 100th anniversary of the death of Baha'ullah, the prophet-founder of the Baha'i faith.

I also want to recognize the leadership of my colleagues, Congressman WAYNE OWENS of Utah, the chief sponsor of the resolution, and Congressman BEN GILMAN of New York, in bringing this issue before the Congress.

It is hoped that through resolutions like this one that the human rights problems in Iran will be given the attention they deserve and the world community can be energized to work for improvements in respect for international recognized human rights in Iran.

I urge adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 156, as amended.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

At the outset I would like to compliment the gentleman from Utah [Mr. OWENS], as well as the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], for sponsoring this particular resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my strong support for this resolution.

Since its founding, our Nation has regarded religious freedom as a fundamental right. Regardless of the nature of their beliefs, all Americans are free to profess and practice their religious faith.

Freedom of religion is enshrined not only in our Constitution, but also in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has been signed by virtually every nation in the world.

Since it came to power in 1979, however, the self-styled Islamic Government of Iran has constantly persecuted the Baha'i religious community. Baha'is are the largest religious minority in Iran. More than 200 Baha'is have been executed and thousands more have been imprisoned.

Mr. Speaker, the repression of the Baha'is has occurred despite the fact that they have neither opposed the Government of Iran nor engaged in any subversive activities. The truth of the matter is that the Baha'is were singled out for persecution solely on the basis of their religious beliefs.

During the past few years, it seemed that conditions for the Baha'i community in Iran had improved. No executions of Baha'is has been reported since December 1988, and many of those who had been imprisoned due to their religious beliefs had been released.

But on March 18 of this year, Iranian authorities secretly executed a prominent member of the Baha'i community. His wife was not informed until April 5, and the authorities buried him in an unmarked grave. He had not been charged with any crime nor had he received a trial.

This incident demonstrates that Iran is continuing to deny the Baha'i community legal protection and basic rights to religious freedom, despite its repeated public denials of discrimination against them. This situation violates international conventions signed by Iran, and affronts the values of the civilized world.

House Concurrent Resolution 156 will help send a message to the Iranian Government that it must respect the religious freedom of all its citizens if it wishes to become a member of the international community. I urge my colleagues to support it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], a cosponsor of this legislation.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolution 156, a resolution urging the Iranian Government to once and for all, emancipate its Baha'i community. I am pleased to join my good friend and distinguished colleague on our Foreign Affairs Committee, the gentleman from Utah, [Mr. OWENS] as an original cosponsor of this resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 156, and I commend the gentleman for his outstanding work on this measure. I also want to thank our distinguished committee ranking member, the gentleman from Michigan, [Mr. BROOMFIELD] and the distinguished chairman of our subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, the gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. HAMILTON] for their support. For far too long, the Baha'i community in Iran has been oppressed by the Government of Iran.

Just a few months ago we took note of recent progress with respect to Iran's treatment of individual members of the Baha'i faith. However, we were recently outraged and sickened by the execution of a leading member of the Iranian Baha'i community by representatives of the Iranian Government on March 18, 1992. This was the first

such execution in 3 years. Additional reports indicate that several more Baha'is have been arrested this year. We can only hope and pray that a similar fate does not await them. Once and for all, let us call upon the Iranian Government to institutionalize human rights and religious rights for their largest religious minority group.

It is my sincere hope that this congressional action will inspire the United Nations Human Rights Commission to press the Iranian Government to abandon, once and for all, its persecution of these peaceful people.

Permit me to thank the American Baha'i spokesman, Prof. Firuz Kazemzadeh, for his outstanding articulation of the plight of the Baha'is. We recently had the honor of Professor Kazemzadeh's testimony before our Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, on central Asia, his area of scholarship and expertise. It is a result of this relentless work, as well as the voice of the U.S. Congress, which for so long has focused the world's attention on this issue, that, at least to some degree, Iran has moderated its most heinous, and reprehensible actions against individual members of the Baha'i faith.

Mr. Speaker, the Baha'i community, as a group, is denied legal recognition as well as the day-to-day rights to which any law-abiding religious group should be entitled.

Accordingly, I urge our colleagues to support this measure, and to once again send a message to Iran and the Baha'i people that we in the United States continue to care about the human rights situation in Iran, and the suffering of the peace-loving Baha'i people of that nation.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PORTER].

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman, the ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs for yielding to me, as well as for his leadership on these vital issues of human rights.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise in strong support for House Concurrent Resolution 156, concerning the emancipation of the Baha'is in Iran. This resolution sends a clear message to the Government of Iran that the United States Congress supports the fundamental rights of members of the Baha'i faith, the largest religious minority in Iran. Once again, we condemn the persecution inflicted on the more than 300,000 Baha'i faithful and we call on the Iranian Government to restore internationally recognized human rights to Baha'is.

Despite the notion that there is a more moderate government in power in Iran today, there has been no significant improvement in the government's human rights practices, particularly with regard to its treatment of the Ba-

ha'is and other religious minorities. Individual Baha'is continue to be considered unprotected infidels who have no legal rights. Baha'is are not allowed to practice their religion: they are denied the right to organize, select their leaders, acquire and maintain places of worship, educate their youth, or conduct religious activities.

In addition, they are denied access to jobs, pensions, ration cards, and university education solely on account of their religious beliefs.

I was particularly shocked to learn of the recent execution of a leading Baha'i who was summarily executed the day after he was arrested. This execution, the first in 3 years, shows that the Iranian Government is up to its old tricks of using attacks on Baha'is as a means to mollify extremist elements in Iran. I strongly condemn this brutal act and call on the Iranian authorities to take immediate steps to ensure that no further executions of Baha'is take place.

Recently, the Baha'i world community marked the 100th anniversary of the death of their prophet and founder, Baha-u-llah. In the first major event of their holy year, Baha'is around the world took part in solemn observance to reaffirm their founder's principles of the unity of all religions and the oneness of mankind. As members of this community, Iranian Baha'is maintain strict adherence to peaceful, apolitical, and nonviolent principles. They are a lawabiding and innocent religious minority within Iran. They seek no special privileges but only the rights to which they are entitled under international law.

Because Iran does not recognize nor respect the rights of Baha'is, it is incumbent upon the United States and other governments to speak out on their behalf in order to free them from suffering and systematic discrimination. The congressional human rights caucus initiated a new project last year to coordinate a global effort on behalf of the Baha'is. We have been in touch with over 250 parliamentarians around the world urging them to pass similar resolutions to the one we are considering today. The caucus received many favorable replies to this initiative and I am pleased to say that the German Parliament recently passed a resolution on the Baha'is and mentioned our initiative in their debate.

The Iranian Government's treatment of the Baha'is is a clear example of pure religious discrimination and a blatant violation of basic human rights. I feel confident that with United States congressional appeals and with unified international pressure on behalf of the Baha'is, the Iranian authorities will be forced to cease their systematic persecution of this peaceful community.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support House Concurrent Resolution 156, the Baha'i community emancipation resolution.

Eight years ago, I chaired a hearing of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations during which leaders of the American Baha'i community described in searing terms the persecution of Baha'is in Iran.

At that time, many leaders of the Iranian Baha'i community had been executed because of their religious beliefs. The Islamic revolutionary regime was jailing and torturing innocent men, women, and children solely on account of their religion.

Baha'is, who were the best educated group in Iran, had been driven from their positions in the civil service, in universities, and the professions. All Baha'i community property had been confiscated, and the homes, businesses, and properties of many individual Baha'is had also been seized by the Iranian Government. All Baha'i students were expelled from universities, and many from high school and even elementary school.

The very survival of a peaceful, lawabiding community appeared to be in danger.

Mr. Speaker, Congress responded to this persecution with a series of strong appeals to the Iranian Government, in resolutions adopted by the House in 1982, 1984, 1988, and 1990.

I am delighted to know that these resolutions, together with appeals by other nations and the United Nations, have helped to persuade the Iranian Government to retreat from some of its most repressive actions against Baha'is.

Most Baha'is have been released from prison, and no Baha'is were executed for more than 3 years. Sadly, however, Mr. Speaker, the recent murder of a prominent leader of the Iranian Baha'i community, Bahman Samandari, shows that the Baha'is continue to be vulnerable to persecution.

The circumstances of the case are particularly horrifying: Mr. Samandari was summarily killed in Evin Prison, in Teheran, 1 day after his arrest. No charges were filed. There was not even the semblance of a trial. Samandari was murdered in secret. He was secretly buried, and authorities refuse to disclose the location of his grave.

Since 1979, more than 200 Baha'is have been executed. We must hope that the savage killing of Mr. Samandari does not presage a renewal of executions.

Today, individual Baha'is continue to suffer pervasive economic and social discrimination. The Iranian Government considers Baha'is unprotected infidels, and Baha'is have no constitutional rights. The Baha'i community is not permitted to organize, elect its leaders, and carry on the normal activities of a lawabiding religious community.

By adopting this resolution, we send a strong message to the Government of Iran: We are aware of your actions, which violate not only international law, but the basic standards of human decency.

Mr. Speaker, we will continue to appeal for religious rights for the Baha'i community of Iran. As this resolution makes clear, we urge the Government of Iran to emancipate the Baha'i community by granting those rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by other international covenants on human rights to which the Government of Iran has acceded.

Mr. OWENS of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Concurrent Resolution 156, the Baha'i community emancipation resolution.

Since 1982, Congress has adopted four resolutions calling on the Iranian Government to cease repressive actions against the Baha'is and other religious minorities. These resolutions have won broad bipartisan support.

As originally introduced, House Concurrent Resolution 156 actually reflected some improvement in Iran's treatment of Baha'is, in that no executions had been reported for more than 2 years and many Baha'is imprisoned had been released.

Sadly, this statement is no longer true. Just 2 months ago, Bahman Samandari, a prominent Iranian Baha'i was arrested and promptly executed. No charges were filed, no meaningful judicial proceedings, no appeals. Just a cold, calculated summary execution.

Not only was Mr. Samandari executed, but his family subjected to emotional torture. Called in by the Iranian authorities under the pretext of clearing up some administrative items, Mr. Samandari left his house on March 17. He was executed the next day. For nearly 3 weeks his family did not know of his whereabouts and Mrs. Samandari did not learn of her husband's murder until April 5.

Even after the execution the Iranian Government refused to reveal the location of the cemetery where Mr. Samandari was buried. After checking the grave registration at each Teheran cemetery, Mrs. Samandari located the cemetery. Still, the Government refused to disclose her husband's gravesite.

I want to publicly extend my condolences to his widow and family and to strongly urge the Iranian Government to immediately disclose to the Samandari family the location of the grave.

During markup of House Concurrent Resolution 156, an amendment was offered to reflect the unacceptable and inhumane execution of Mr. Samandari. I strongly supported this amendment and only wish we could do more to protest Iran's brutality.

House Concurrent Resolution 156 makes clear that Congress continues to be deeply concerned about Iran's human rights practices, especially its denial of rights to members of the Baha'i community, Iran's largest religious minority.

Iran is attempting to work its way back into the civilized world. But satisfying the West outside of its borders, while depriving its citizens of their fundamental human rights inside its borders, is unacceptable. So long as Iran continues to oppress the Baha'i community and other minorities, it must be repudiated and denied a place among the humane nations of the world.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolution 156 concerning the emancipation of the Baha'i community of Iran. I am pleased to support this measure, which like similar resolutions over the last 10 years, expresses Congress' continued concern about the fate of members of the Baha'i community, Iran's largest religious minority. I commend the author of this resolution, the distinguished gentleman from Utah [Mr. OWENS] for his leadership and for his dedicated efforts to keep this important issue under the spotlight of international attention.

I am hopeful that, due to the concerted effort to hold Iran to its commitments under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Conventions on Human Rights, of which this resolution is a part, the Government of Iran will be induced to further modify its treatment of Baha'is and to respect religious freedom for all in Iran. I am convinced that whatever progress has been made in this regard to date has been due to the pressure that past congressional resolutions, along with many efforts in other Western nations and in international fora, have generated.

I urge unanimous support of House Concurrent Resolution 156.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation, which is both appropriate and timely. The peaceful Bahai community of Iran has been subjected for years to the brutality and tyranny of the regime in Teheran. We simply cannot tolerate such flagrant abuse of religious and human rights, because as our Founding Fathers observed: "A threat to freedom anywhere, is a threat to freedom everywhere."

Mr. Speaker, the Bahais in Iran want nothing more than to be allowed to practice their religion in peace. The U.N. Human Rights Commission is already on record condemning Iranian human rights abuses, including the persecution of the Bahais. This legislation puts the Congress of the United States firmly on the record with regard to the Bahais. In the words of Armando Valladares, the fearless crusader for human rights, "International condemnation is the only thing capable of pressuring the torturers, it is the only thing capable of forcing them, in order to repair their image, to free prisoners, to be more careful, to transgress less."

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolution 156 which urges the Government of Iran to extend to the Baha'i community basic human rights which are guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international agreements to which Iran is a party.

The right of individuals and communities to freedom of religious worship and expression is deeply rooted in our own Nation's history. It is thus imperative that we speak out against the denial of this basic freedom wherever we find it, and in Iran the violations have been severe indeed.

Over 200 Baha'is have been executed since 1979 and many more have disappeared and have been kidnapped. In addition, many Baha'is are denied food, pay, education and the right to organize and conduct religious ceremonies. The secret and summary execution of Mr. Bahman Samandari, a prominent Baha'i, on March 18 demonstrates the need for continued international pressure to bring about change in Iran.

While reading about the Baha'i, I was struck by two of the underlying tenets of their faith. The first is obedience to

the civil law of the land. The second is the belief that religious truth is not exclusive to the Baha'i and that all the great religions of the world are divine in origin. How ironic that a faith so tolerant of other faiths and which poses no political threat to the government in the land in which it originated, would find itself the victim of such religious intolerance.

I urge my colleagues to vote for this resolution.

□ 1240

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MONTGOMERY). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 156, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the concurrent resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

CONDEMNING THE BOMBING OF ISRAELI EMBASSY IN BUENOS AIRES

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 297) condemning the bombing of the Embassy of Israel in Buenos Aires, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 297

Whereas a terrorist bomb destroyed the Embassy of Israel in Buenos Aires, Argentina, on March 17, 1992;

Whereas at least 24 innocent individuals died and 250 innocent individuals were wounded as a result of the detonation of the bomb;

Whereas the terrorist organization Islamic Jihad has claimed responsibility for the bombing; and

Whereas the bombing is an atrocity: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate Concurring), That the Congress—

(1) condemns the bombing of the Embassy of Israel in Buenos Aires, Argentina, on March 17, 1992;

(2) mourns the victims of the bombing;

(3) extends its condolences to the families and friends of the victims; and

(4) declares that the Government of the United States should continue to cooperate fully with the Government of Argentina and the Government of Israel in identifying and bringing to justice all of the individuals responsible for the planning, preparation, and execution of the bombing.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON].

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolution 297, a resolution condemning the March 17, 1992, bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in which 24 people were killed and some 250 were wounded.

This resolution was introduced March 20 by Congresswoman MEYERS of Kansas and I commend her for her leadership in bringing this resolution before the Congress.

Even though there is still an international investigation underway to try to find out the perpetrators of this terrorist attack, many American observers close to this incident see the evidence pointing to Iran and feel that this attack was in response to the death of the Hizbollah leader Abbas Musawi in southern Lebanon.

I do not know the reasons for this senseless attack or who carried it out, but I consider the resolution important as a reminder of the problem of international terrorism and of the need for all of us to work to reduce terrorism and to make governments and individuals supporting terrorism accountable.

I urge adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I support this resolution and commend Congresswoman JAN MEYERS for sponsoring this important legislative initiative.

I wish to join all my colleagues in strongly condemning this bombing. Our hearts go out to the Israelis and Argentines who died or were injured in this senseless attack. All indications point to the Islamic Jihad, a pro-Iranian terrorist group, as the organization responsible for this horrible attack.

I am greatly concerned about this bombing because it occurred in a country that was considered extremely unlikely to have a terrorist attack of this nature. It is especially disturbing as a sign that the Islamic Jihad may be planning additional attacks on other Israeli embassies and possibly U.S. diplomatic posts overseas.

I strongly urge the Department of State to enhance its security at American facilities around the world in response to this tragic bombing. I also urge the Department to continue to emphasize security and not drop the protections against terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, the recent attack in Buenos Aires is proof positive that terrorist madmen are still waiting for opportunities to take the lives of the innocent. I urge my colleagues to support this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as she may consume to the gentlewoman from Kansas [Mrs. MEYERS], the principal sponsor of the resolution.

Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the leadership on the committee, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL], the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD], and the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] for assisting me in bringing this measure to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this resolution. In a way this is an inadequate response to the atrocity that occurred on March 17. It is just one more expression of outrage over a despicable crime, and sympathy for those whose lives have been shattered by it.

The terrorist bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires killed 32 innocent people and left another 250 wounded. The President immediately condemned the attack and offered American assistance to the Argentines and Israelis to investigate this crime. I believe it is important for Congress to make its own statement condemning this terrorist act extending sympathy to the families and supporting President Bush's offer of American cooperation with the Argentines and Israelis to bring the perpetrators to justice.

The sophistication of the bombing attack is evidence that this was an act of state-sponsored terrorism. Investigators are still picking through the debris, looking for clues. FBI forensic teams are analyzing the results. This investigation is obviously going to take an enormous amount of time and effort. We must emphasize that the United States will be in it for the long haul, and provide whatever assistance is necessary to identify and bring the terrorists to justice. We must make it clear to the world that American resolve against international terrorism is as strong as ever.

□ 1250

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], who sponsored this resolution.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my strong support for House Concurrent Resolution 297, a resolution regarding the bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires and I commend the gentlelady from Kansas [Mrs.

MEYERS] for her thoughtful and timely measure, and I further commend the distinguished ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Committee Mr. BROOMFIELD. On March 17, 1992, at least 24 innocent individuals died and 250 innocent persons were wounded as a result of this diabolical and despicable act.

We have followed the activities of the terrorist organization responsible for this act for quite some time now. They have been responsible for acts of murder and brutality in the West Bank and Gaza. We know they have as their objective the termination of the peace process as well as the ultimate destruction of Israel.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join the gentlewoman from Kansas in expressing my condolences to the families and friends of the victims. I also join in calling upon our Nation to fully cooperate with the Government of Israel in identifying and bringing to justice all of the terrorists involved in every phase of the operation. We must make our message resoundingly clear: that violence only begets further violence. Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I urge the unanimous passage of this resolution.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Michigan for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support House Concurrent Resolution 297 which condemns the bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires and urges continued United States support to the Argentines to identify and bring to justice the cowards who perpetrated this crime. I thank the gentlewoman, Representative MEYERS, for introducing and showing strong leadership on this important piece of legislation.

On March 17 a huge blast rocked central Buenos Aires, destroying the 5-story Israeli Embassy, killing 24 innocent individuals and injuring over 250, including 13 in a nearby school. The death and destruction was wanton and indiscriminate. The bomb—between 45 and 90 pounds of high explosives—was apparently either secreted into the Embassy in a load of construction materials or planted in a truck outside the Embassy. When it exploded, it killed passersby, workers, elderly people, children, Israeli Embassy personnel, and everyone else in the vicinity. It was not a focused, well-planned attack. It was an attack against humanity, targeting any living person who might randomly be strolling down a main boulevard in Buenos Aires on a Tuesday afternoon.

It was not a political statement. It was pure terrorism that took fathers from their families and children from their parents. It has caused immense human suffering that will do nothing to further any political cause. In fact, heartless, mindless violence like the Buenos Aires bombing will only serve to turn all civilized people against the cause that promoted it.

This bombing was the work of desperate people supporting a failing and illegitimate cause through barbaric means. No one can look at this tragedy and emote the tiniest scintilla of support for its perpetrators or their causes.

The Argentine police are working closely with Israeli's Mossad secret service and the Central Intelligence Agency to locate and punish the criminals who planned and carried out this atrocity.

Recently the Washington Times has reported that U.S. investigators have strong indications that Iranian diplomats may have helped plan the attack and it is rumored that the diplomats may have even slipped the explosives into Argentina in an Iranian diplomatic pouch. These charges must be investigated fully and if they are true, I would call on the United States and all other nations to cut off all relations with Iran and any other nations implicated in the crime.

Again, I thank Mrs. MEYERS for bringing this important bill to the floor and for keeping this issue at such a high profile and I strongly support its passage.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to support House Concurrent Resolution 297, which condemns the heinous bombing of the State of Israel's Embassy in Argentina on March 17.

On that day, a car packed to the brim with explosives detonated and destroyed the Israeli Embassy and much of the surrounding Buenos Aires neighborhood.

Numerous people, 24 Israelis and Argentines, were killed and scores more wounded in the explosion.

I salute my distinguished colleague from Kansas, Mrs. MEYERS, the principal sponsor. I am proud to be a cosponsor of this bill. This legislation not only condemns the bombing, but also commits the U.S. Government to continue to cooperate to the fullest extent possible in identifying and bringing to justice those individuals responsible for the bombing.

As with all cowardly terrorist acts, we must pursue the perpetrators to the ends of the Earth and see that justice be done. It is the relentless pursuit of terrorists and the punishment of those responsible for terrorist acts that ultimately will end such activity.

Conversely, any slackening of our efforts to seek out and prosecute such terrorists sends the wrong message—that terrorists can strike with impunity.

I salute the Argentine Government, as well as our own administration, for their efforts to track down the terrorists responsible for this sickening case of wanton destruction of human life and property.

Mr. OWENS of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Concurrent Resolution 297, the resolution condemning the bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires. I do so, Mr. Speaker, with a sense of sadness and futility.

Passing this resolution is the right thing to do. But it won't bring back the victims or return the injured to their prior condition. No, Mr.

Speaker, this resolution can express our outrage and our condolences to the victims and their families but it can't right a murderous wrong.

The scenes of the destruction and carnage at the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires were hauntingly all too familiar. At least 6 people died, over 100 were wounded, and the 3-story Embassy building was nearly totally demolished.

It is a sad fact that terrorism is alive, well, and killing. It is a testament to the people of Israel, that, despite the constant terrorism, they continue to support the Middle East peace process.

America's commitment to Israel's security and well-being is at the core of our Middle Eastern objectives. This administration would do well to remember that our loyal friend, Israel, still the only democracy in a volatile region, continues to be the target of senseless terrorism and rejectionism.

One year ago, we were saluting Israel's perseverance and self-restraint in the face of dozens of Iraqi Scud attacks. One year ago we were thanking our lucky stars that a decade earlier the Israeli Air Force destroyed the Iraqi Osirac nuclear facility, removing a threat that would have seriously impeded—if not altogether rendered impossible—efforts to dislodge Saddam Hussein.

Today, we bow our heads to remember the innocent victims of violence, and we hope that we never again have the sad occasion of considering a similar resolution.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MONTGOMERY). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 297, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended, and the concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING KURDS IN NORTHERN IRAQ

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 299) expressing the sense of the Congress re-

garding the Kurds in northern Iraq, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 299

Whereas the Government of Iraq brutally suppressed a Kurdish uprising in February and March 1991, forcing hundreds of thousands of Kurds to flee across the border into Turkey;

Whereas this sudden, massive refugee flow into Turkey resulted in shortfalls of shelter, food, medicine, and potable water that placed thousands of Kurdish lives at risk;

Whereas the best solution to this humanitarian crisis was to encourage the Kurds to return to their homes in northern Iraq by creating a security zone in northern Iraq in which the United States guaranteed that they would not be attacked by Iraqi aircraft or other forces;

Whereas in response to the extraordinary humanitarian need of the Kurds, the United States took the lead in organizing Operation Provide Comfort, in which the United States and other forces undertook a major relief effort for the Kurds both within Turkey and in the designated security zone in northern Iraq;

Whereas in June 1991 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees took over the prime responsibility for all relief operations in northern Iraq;

Whereas the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees still maintains a large presence in northern Iraq, including over a thousand civilians involved in relief activities as well as hundreds of United Nations guards;

Whereas the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is currently negotiating with the United Nations Children's Fund and other United Nations organizations to take over the functions being performed in northern Iraq by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;

Whereas the memorandum of understanding between Iraq and the United Nations which authorizes the United Nations presence expires in June 1992;

Whereas the severe shortages of food within the security zone as a result of the Iraqi blockade of northern Iraq make a continued international relief effort essential in order to prevent famine among the Kurdish population;

Whereas the courageous decision of the Government of Turkey to permit the stationing of United States military forces in southern Turkey, despite the possibility of Iraqi retaliation against Turkey, was essential to the success of Operation Provide Comfort;

Whereas Operation Provide Comfort is still necessary in order to deter Iraqi attacks against the Kurdish population in the security zone in northern Iraq;

Whereas the agreement between the United States and Turkey that permits the stationing of United States military forces in southern Turkey expires in June 1992; and

Whereas if this agreement is not extended and if Operation Provide Comfort is terminated, it is extremely likely that Iraqi forces will attack the security zone, resulting in substantial loss of lives and possibly generating another massive wave of Kurdish refugees into Turkey: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the United States should seek Turkish permission to extend beyond June 1992 the agreement that permits the stationing of United States military forces in southern

Turkey for purposes of Operation Provide Comfort;

(2) the Government of Turkey, whose continued commitment to Operation Provide Comfort is essential if the operation is to be continued, should respond positively to a United States request to extend that agreement;

(3) the United Nations presence in northern Iraq should be extended;

(4) the United States and the international community should attach high priority to persuading the Government of Iraq to lift the economic boycott of northern Iraq; and

(5) in working to ameliorate the conditions of the Iraqi Kurds, the United States should continue to support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, and the internationally recognized human rights of all peoples, in the region.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON].

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolution 299, as amended, which deals with issues concerning the Kurdish community in northern Iraq. This resolution was considered by the Foreign Affairs Committee on May 20 and passed by voice vote.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution addresses four issues. First, it urges the continuation beyond June 1992 of the stationing of United States forces in southern Turkey for purposes of Operation Provide Comfort. Second, it calls for extension of the United Nations presence in northern Iraq. Third, it underscores the need for continued humanitarian help for the Iraqi Kurds. And, finally, it urges the administration to take efforts to gain the immediate lifting of the economic embargo by Baghdad of northern Iraq.

On May 19, 1992, the Iraqi Kurds successfully held local elections in northern Iraq. This is a trend toward greater democracy that we would like to see repeated in the rest of Iraq, and elsewhere throughout the Middle East. These elections would not have been possible without the presence of Operation Provide Comfort in southeastern Turkey. I think this is a particularly appropriate time to recognize the need to continue Operation Provide Comfort and to work for peaceful and democratic change elsewhere in Iraq.

I commend our colleagues, Mr. BILBRAY and Mr. SOLARZ, for their leadership on this issue and I urge adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 299, as amended.

I recognize Mr. GILMAN for his work on behalf of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may

consume. I support this timely resolution, which urges continuation of Operation Provide Comfort and the security zone in northern Iraq, along with the United Nations presence there. I commend the sponsor, Congressman BILBRAY, as well as Mr. SOLARZ and Chairman FASCELL of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and Congressmen HAMILTON and GILMAN of the Europe and Middle East Subcommittee.

Saddam Hussein's regime has a terrible record of brutality toward the Kurds in Iraq. Every day, new evidence is uncovered that reveals systematic efforts to murder, torture, and maim innocent Kurds who are supposedly citizens of Iraq.

In addition to maintaining the current security zone, our Government is now also assisting the Kurds by removing detailed Iraqi security records which carefully document the extent of Saddam Hussein's atrocities. Soon, the world will know the truth about these horrible human rights abuses.

We cannot forget Iraq's brutal suppression of the Kurdish uprising in early 1991. I believe that Saddam Hussein is ready, willing, and able to launch another military operation against the Kurds if international protection were withdrawn. We must do everything possible to ensure that Operation Provide Comfort continues and that the security zone remains intact.

The Kurdish people have recently shown their commitment to the democratic process and their wish for greater autonomy by conducting free and fair elections. Massive numbers of Kurds voted and elected a Kurdish National Assembly and a leader of the Kurdish movement. Despite threats from Baghdad, the Kurds in Iraq bravely set out on the road to a democratic future.

As long as the current regime in Iraq retains power, the Kurdish people there remain threatened by further repression. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this resolution.

□ 1300

Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN].

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express support for House Concurrent Resolution 299, a resolution expressing the sense of Congress regarding the Kurds in northern Iraq. I join in commending the gentleman from Nevada [Mr. BILBRAY], the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] as well as the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], the distinguished chairman of our Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, and our committee's distinguished minority member, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] for their outstanding work on this measure.

The plight of the Kurds has received some attention; but, in my view, not enough attention.

Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that Operation Provide Comfort remains necessary in order to deter Iraqi attacks against the Kurds in northern Iraq.

I believe the United States should seek Turkish permission to extend beyond June 1992, the agreement that permits the stationing of United States military personnel in southern Turkey for purposes of Operation Provide Comfort.

Mr. Speaker, the United Nations and the entire international community should use the forces of moral suasion to pressure the despicable government of Saddam Hussein to lift its economic boycott of northern Iraq.

Accordingly, as a proud cosponsor of this resolution, I urge its unanimous adoption.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ], one of the chief sponsors of this resolution.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, I want to pay tribute to the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East for bringing this resolution before us, and also to my very good friend, the gentleman from Nevada [Mr. BILBRAY], who has been the driving force behind the formulation of this resolution. I am also pleased to thank our friends on the other side of the aisle; that great statement, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD], that extraordinary Member of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], and some of my other friends whom I see over there; the gentlewoman from Kansas [Mrs. MEYERS], the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER], and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PORTER], who are supporting it as well.

Mr. Speaker I attach considerable importance to the adoption of this resolution. It underscores, in my judgment, two very significant and enduring realities in that part of the world. The first is that there are literally hundreds of thousands of Kurds now living in northern Iraq whose security and perhaps even whose lives would be in jeopardy if Operation Provide Comfort were to come to an end in June.

I was in northern Iraq several months ago, where I had an opportunity to witness for myself the enormous devastation which Saddam and his forces had inflicted upon the Kurdish people in the late 1980's. Thousands of villages which had existed for centuries were literally leveled. Chemical weapons were used not just in Halabja, the village where several thousands were killed and about which we all know, but in literally dozens of other villages as well. And there can be little doubt that if Operation Provide Comfort comes to an end, and the deterrent presence of the United Nations is removed from northern Iraq, not to mention the potential deterrent presence of coalition air forces in Turkey, Saddam

will move once again against these people. And if he does, then once again tens of thousands, and perhaps even hundreds of thousands, will be rendered homeless, and many of them may even lose their lives.

So the objective of this resolution, which calls for the extension of Operation Provide Comfort, is an objective of enormous humanitarian significance. But the resolution underscores one other significant and perhaps enduring reality, and that is the extent to which any satisfactory resolution of the problem in the Persian Gulf will clearly require the continued cooperation of Turkey.

Had it not been for Turkey, it would not have been possible to impose effective sanctions against Iraq after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, inasmuch as it was Turkey's willingness to cut the oil pipeline from Iraq which made sanctions viable. And Turkey, of course, cooperated fully with us during the course of the war and made it possible for us to stage air raids against Iraq during the course of Desert Storm. In a similar sense, had it not been for the willingness of Turkey to make its territory available, Operation Provide Comfort simply would not have been possible.

That is why I believe this resolution, which calls upon not only our government to urge Turkey to agree to an extension of Provide Comfort, but which also urges our Turkish friends to provide their consent for a continuation of Provide Comfort is so important. I am hopeful that Turkey will continue to be as cooperative in the future as they have been in the past, and I believe that if we are able to continue working together we will be able to continue making it possible for the Kurdish people, who have perhaps suffered more than almost any other peoples in the history of that tortured and troubled part of the world, to at least have some security in the year ahead.

Mr. Speaker, for all of these reasons, I urge the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER].

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, as ranking member of the Human Rights Subcommittee, I rise in strong support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, the ongoing turmoil in northern Iraq, and the extremely precarious situation of the Iraqi Kurds, is a situation that troubles us all. Saddam Hussein has demonstrated his intent upon punishing the Kurds for their disloyalty to his ruthless regime. All that stands in his way is the international relief effort known as Operation Provide Comfort.

But, as my colleagues have mentioned, the mandate of Operation Provide Comfort is about to expire. The U.N. peacekeepers who have stood as a

barrier against Saddam Hussein may have to be withdrawn very soon. If the international community abandons the Kurds at this point in time, this Member believes we can accurately predict what will happen to them. The Kurds can expect a reign of terror that exceeds their worst nightmare.

House Concurrent Resolution 299 seeks to prevent that devastation. It expresses the sense of Congress that the United States should seek to extend Operation Provide Comfort, and work with the Turkish Government to ensure that international relief efforts in northern Iraq are not terminated. It makes the important statement that the United States simply cannot forget about the vicious nature of the Iraqi regime, and the vulnerability of the Kurdish people.

This Member would note that House Concurrent Resolution 299 was amended at full committee to recognize the territorial integrity of the states in the region. Again, Mr. Speaker, this is consistent with United States policy, and addresses the legitimate concerns that the Turkish Government has regarding a Kurdish separatist movement. This change of language strengthens the resolution, and increases the likelihood that the Turkish Government will respond favorably.

Mr. Speaker, this important resolution would not have been possible had it not been for the diligent efforts of its author, the gentleman from Nevada [Mr. BILBRAY]. The chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East [Mr. HAMILTON], and the chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations [Mr. YATRON] deserve acknowledgment for moving this House Concurrent Resolution 299 in an expeditious manner. This Member would also point to the important contributions of the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] in preparing the legislation before this body today. House Concurrent Resolution 299 is indeed a bipartisan effort.

Mr. Speaker, this Member urges the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 299.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Nevada [Mr. BILBRAY], who is one of the chief sponsors of this resolution.

□ 1310

Mr. BILBRAY. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank Chairman HAMILTON and Chairman SOLARZ along with the assistance of Chairman FASCELL and Congressman GILMAN for helping those of us who have cared for the Kurdish cause for so long to finally send a message to the administration that the American Government intends to keep their promise to the Kurds.

For well over a year, a million Kurds, mostly women and children, have

known only cold and hunger as they were forced to flee to the Turkey-Iraq border in order to avoid the genocide that the Saddam Hussein had in mind. Well over a year ago, we encouraged these ancient and proud people to assist us in the overthrow of Saddam Hussein and when all did not go well, our administration left them to the wolves of the Iraqi army. Only through U.N. intervention and Operation Provide Comfort have we been able to maintain the troops of Saddam's army at bay and prevented the slaughter.

But time is once again running out. Soon deadlines will expire and these people will once again be left to their own resources, with no one to turn to but themselves, and facing the much better equipped Iraqi army.

House Concurrent Resolution 299 takes the position that this administration has avoided for many months, to defend those we asked to assist us in our hour of need and to ask the pertinent international organization, the United Nations, to continue their peacekeeping role in the area. This is not a call for money. This is not a call for sending our troops over there. It is a call for the U.S. leadership to once again lead the international community to continue the protection that is already in place and has been to critical to the continued safety of the Kurds.

I would like to take the opportunity to congratulate the Kurds, who only 2 weeks ago took the opportunity to express their democratic dreams, and held their free election, without fraud and without violence. I would like to submit for the RECORD, a series of articles that former two term Governor of Nevada Mike O'Callahan wrote after monitoring those elections. Not only do his writings offer us a true insight into the violence and misery in the world around us, but also the hope. It is clear from his writing and other reports that I have received, that it is the United States that these people admire and look to.

Let us keep our promises and ask our administration to finally take a position in support of the Kurds. These proud people have already proven their thirst for democracy, and their desire for a lasting peace in the region. Let us finally ask the administration to keep their promises to these people.

Let us make sure that what happened to the Armenians does not happen to the Kurds. They need a democratic, free-elected area, an autonomous area within Iraq. We must show our support.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank all those who have expressed their support for the Kurdish people.

Mr. Speaker, I include an article by Mike O'Callahan, as follows:

WHERE I STAND

(By Mike O'Callaghan)

DAHOK, KURDISTAN (Iraq).—There were at least 3,000 to 4,000 Kurds lined up to vote out-

side of the Bisav School. The sun was showing its late morning strength, but the men, women and children weren't complaining. They had come to freely cast a ballot for the first time in Kurdish history. By noon Tuesday, about 2,500 would cast their ballots at this voting center, one of 174 polling stations in northern Iraq.

The night before, I had stayed in a house with a couple of dozen armed peshmarga guerrillas. During the night, they had been patrolling the area to prevent Saddam Hussein's people from possibly disrupting the elections to be held from 8 a.m. until midnight. Election day, they dropped their arms and went to vote in small groups. The only armed people on the town streets election day were the police near and around the polling centers.

The election had been delayed for two days because the original supply of ink brought in from Germany wasn't indelible and had to be treated. When voting, each person had to put a forefinger in the ink so they wouldn't be able to cast a second ballot. Some Iraqi identification, usually the card all Iraqis must carry under penalty of death, or an Iraq driver's license, had to be shown at the polling center.

Later in the day, I watched a young man who studies in Baghdad plead not to put his finger in the ink. "I can't go back to Baghdad with this marking. They will arrest me and maybe even kill me," he told the election official. Nevertheless, like all other Kurds 18 years of age and older, he wanted to vote. I don't know what the election judge's final decision was on this matter, but I'm certain the student voted, even if it meant risking his personal freedom.

A couple of weeks ago, this city was rather tense when a bomb was detonated downtown near election headquarters. Then Sunday night in nearby Zakho, the power was interrupted twice by the government in Baghdad. Shortly after midnight Tuesday, another car with dynamite was intercepted in Zakho and the driver arrested. But there was nothing going to stop the Kurds from voting for a president and an assembly to speak for them with one voice in northern Iraq.

Voting day was calm, and other than some unhappiness when the polls closed at midnight before everybody in line had voted, it was a perfect example of how a democracy should be developed.

As I observed 10 voting centers in this city, the rural area and Zakho, the same story was told over and over again. Thousands stood in line for hours at a time, waiting to cast their ballots.

After checking the procedures and questioning voters with the aid of an interpreter, I would let the people ask me questions. Most of them wanted to know my opinion of their election. Several of them offered to share their food with me, and one man asked me to go to his home for lunch. A lady gave me a bouquet of wildflowers.

Many Kurds were surprised to see an American watching them. However, there were three other Americans on the other side of the country also watching the voting. One lady thought I was a German and wanted me to take a message to her son who escaped Saddam 10 years ago and went to Frankfurt. After he left Iraq, his father was tortured and killed by the secret police. "they tied his feet and dragged him up and down the stone steps until his brains came out," the 70-year-old woman told me.

The Kurds are a rugged people who have been bludgeoned throughout history by the officials running Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria

and the Soviet Union. They have been battered—Saddam has killed at least 300,000 and this shows in the larger proportion of women at some voting centers—but never beaten. They are good people who deserve a better hand than history has dealt them.

Let me share with you some of the remarks they made to me during the first free election held by these ancient people.

A 26-year-old peshmarga: "This is the first day for all of us."

Woman, 19, in modern dress: "Previous years, in Saddam's day, we were forced to vote. Now we vote because we want to vote."

Man, 60, with sad eyes: "On behalf of our people, we must all vote. Four of my children have been taken by Saddam. I don't know where they are."

Man, 30, after voting: "Have a cigarette, it's a great day!"

Man, 70, an Iraqi soldier in 1945: "I'm happy. We can vote because of the American people."

Man, 82, in tribal dress: "What can I say? I'm happy! I once had to vote for Saddam by force."

Man, 90, with some teeth missing: "I wish it ends happily. It's a new day!"

Woman, 65, wearing traditional black face cover and shawl: "I've been in line three hours. I'm going to stay until I vote."

Woman, 40: "I'm tired, but it doesn't matter. I'm here for Massoud Barzani (presidential candidate). I knew his father."

Man, 20: "Tell the West we want your help and are worth being friends. We are a democracy."

During a question-and-answer period outside of a voting center, a man about summed it all up when he told me to "tell the whole world we only want to be ourselves. This remark was made after standing in line seven hours to vote."

On Monday, in the combined holiday edition of the newspaper, I'll share some photographs with our readers. In Tuesday's column, we will take a look at some of our U.S. military as viewed by the Kurds and the Kurdish women in the electoral process, among other things.

WHERE I STAND

(By Mike O'Callaghan)

DAHOK, KURDISTAN (Iraq).—For the second time in two years, I have been most fortunate to watch the U.S. military through the eyes of people seeking survival. The small military mission, until last week led by Army Col. Richard Naab, in Zakho, Kurdistan (Iraq), was my latest experience.

It was in May 1990 that I watched the U.S. military bring doctors and nurses into the isolated Honduran jungles of Bocay to rescue more than 900 women, babies and disabled men. They were the families of Contra soldiers who had left for the long walk back home to Nicaragua.

That's when I wrote that the best thing "that will happen for days took place as U.S. military people poured forth from the chopper and immediately set up communications and began to organize the people to be airlifted. . . . Nurse Capt. Ana Perez-Sarzano, dressed in field gear, moved in among the women and children and let them know she cared. Soon she, along with Sgt. Ramon Martinez, were putting ear plugs in little ears and preparing the children for flight. . . . USAF S/Sgt. Wilbert R. Salazar of Glendale, Calif., moved from group to group of huddled children and parents as they waited to climb up the knoll to the helicopter. Those that needed aid found Salazar ready and willing to help them carry their belongings and babies up the incline."

Every American moved and worked continuously, and the second day of the operation I returned to find them working at the same rate of speed. No matter how busy they became, all of them, including Lt. Col. Rodriguez, took time to carry a child or a heavy bag up the steep incline to the helicopter. None of them were too busy to wipe a little nose, brush away a tear or give a hug to the children and the elderly."

Here, among the Kurds, the humanitarian aid given them by the U.S. military during the terrible winter months, when they were pursued by Saddam's forces, will never be forgotten. Col. Richard Naab, a Notre Dame man, has become the living symbol of everything good about the United States.

Naab, soon to retire from the Army, has a deep and sincere love for the people he has been helping. His respect for these tough and loving people is returned a hundredfold. Former Iraqi Foreign Minister Sami Abdul Rahman, now seeking a seat in the Kurdish Assembly, told me that Naab has "left his mark on Kurdish history." A more emotional peshmarga guerrilla said, "He's why all Kurds must love your country!"

The Kurds, and the whole world, know that the Bush administration encouraged them to revolt against Saddam Hussein following Desert Storm. They did, and we watched as the Bastard of Baghdad butchered them with the helicopter and other weapons we failed to destroy when stopping the war about two days before it should have been terminated.

Because of the pictures of suffering refugees coming out of the mountains of Iraq, the conscience of the world was bothered. Great Britain's Prime Minister, John Major, was the first to call for enforcement of a safe haven for the Kurds. "I love John Major. He saved our lives with the safe haven concept," Hussain Sinjari told me. President Bush followed this lead and U.S. military fighter planes covered the area, and food and supplies were dropped to the cold and starving refugees.

The Kurds want only to recall the help given them by the U.S. and their allies. Generations of suffering have taught them how to forget being misled by U.S. policy and think only about the humanitarian aid they have received. U.S. Army Col. Richard Naab is their reminder of what is good about America.

Flying in a chopper with Naab from Zakho to meet with several Kurdish leaders in Shaqlawah was a rewarding experience. He loves flying the American flag low over the countryside where people see it and wave to him and his men. During the flight of almost one hour, he continually pointed to villages and problems that concerned him. It was easy to see why the Kurds and his own men respect him.

Now that the Kurds have shown their desire to have a democratic form of government, Naab sees the need for job development. "They no longer should believe that being a peshmarga (guerrilla) is an occupation," he reminds us. The Kurds will work and have talent, but they need cement, lumber and supplies.

There's no reason for famine in the Kurd-controlled part of Iraq because of the available land and irrigation water. It is necessary for us to give them continued air protection as long as Saddam remains in Baghdad. Naab does believe they need a powerful television station so they can broadcast throughout their area and into Baghdad.

If Naab had his way, we would also help them bring back their chicken farms and feed lots for sheep; help renew their carpet

and textile industry; let them drill known oil deposits; and then back off and let them live. Another democratic people who have learned to love and respect the United States.

Our foreign policy may seem somewhat confusing to us, but we are fortunate to have people in our military units who bring the real America to people around the world. Because of Nash, and people like him, the uniform of the U.S. military spreads confidence and security among those who need help to survive in a world still haunted by brutal leaders and bloody regimes.

The Honduran jungles and Iraq are on opposite sides of the world, but similar experiences with the U.S. military and people who need help bring them close together in my mind.

WHERE I STAND (By Mike O'Callaghan)

After being out of contact with American media for a week, I was shocked back into the real world when picking up a copy of USA Today after arriving in Rome from Istanbul. I could hardly wait to learn what important things had been happening back home while I was in Iraq watching the Kurds hold a free election under the nose of Saddam Hussein.

There it was, the BIG story, some television character by the name of Murphy Brown had given birth to a baby on a nationally broadcast program. Well, this wasn't really the BIG story because even I had heard it was going to happen before leaving home. The BIG story was that Vice President Dan Quayle was upset by the lifestyle choice of Murphy Brown, an unmarried mother, on national television.

If this was truly the most important thing happening back home then it must have been a quiet day for news. Thumbing through the newspaper, it soon became obvious that this was the BIG story in my home country. After watching people risk their lives, homes and families to express themselves in a free election, the entire Murphy Brown scenario presented in a leading American newspaper made me cringe.

The BIG story made me realize just how fortunate Americans are in today's world. While people in other nations are worried about living through the night, having food for their children, openly expressing their feelings and beliefs about politics and defying dictators, we have the time and freedom to worry about a television sitcom. Did our nation's No. 2 man have time to watch, and with the help of spin doctors turn a television situation into a national political issue? Or was it just one more light headed news story that outgrew its importance?

Not finding much else to read, I boarded the plane for New York and reviewed the campaign material of the Kurdistan Popular Democratic Party, one of several active political groups in northern Iraq. It was such a contrast when compared to Murphy Brown's lifestyle and other campaign rhetoric here at home.

After reviewing a list of natural resources available in their area, the KPDP stated as part of its manifesto:

"The Kurdish people can have a much better standard of living if these resources could be utilized properly. But, unfortunately, our people live in poverty and misery. Many of them, especially children endure malnutrition and real hunger. Numerous families had to sell their furniture or even clothes in order to buy food for their small loved ones. The living conditions of the populations can and must be improved, and economic activi-

ties stimulated through the following measures:

Working harder for lifting the economic blockade imposed upon Kurdistan by the government of Iraq since October 1991;

Exerting more efforts to increase humanitarian aid and distributing it to the population; and making fuel available to the inhabitants on a fair basis, at official prices, under the control of elected bodies, such as city councils;

Starting production in existing factories and mines, exporting any surpluses;

Providing seeds, fertilizers, tools, instruments and loans to stimulate agricultural production in the approaching summer season;

Revitalizing the countryside according to feasible programs and by building modern villages supplied with running water, electricity, schools, health and social centers, roads, etc.;

Encouraging the return to the rural areas by supplying those who wish to return with seeds, fertilizers, tools, instruments, loans, livestock, sheep and poultry; this process requires foreign help and loans but leads to the revival of the agricultural sector in Kurdistan and reduces dependencies on humanitarian aid and imports;

Distributing land to farmers and agricultural producers;

Building small water dams, regulating water distribution and gradually modernizing agricultural production;

Building primary, secondary, and tertiary (service) industries according to feasible programs that take into consideration available raw materials and market demands as well as the raising of the level of living of the population;

Producing, refining and directly exporting oil and natural gas in order to meet local market demand and acquire funds to finance various development programs and projects;

Establishing a competent central customs and revenues office;

Borrowing abroad to finance development projects if and when needed."

You get the general idea of how a poor people must strive to improve a shattered economy and must look to the future when they hope to become self sufficient. These sound like some of the basic problems faced by our Founding Fathers. The manifesto also has sections on government administration, foreign policy, internal politics, social and health services, environment, educational and cultural services and the Kurdish nation.

It's heavy stuff—and not one mention of savings and loan scandals, Murphy Brown's lifestyle, pot smoking, a billionaire's campaign or how to run the rest of the world.

Yes, I'm blessed to be an American, where we have campaigns that no longer need to reach into solving the problems that plague our nation. It isn't necessary to get down to finding real solutions. We have for more than two centuries survived and prospered sometimes because of great leadership and other times despite weak leadership. Most Americans have come to believe a great nation can survive no matter who is put in charge and no matter how large our deficit spending.

But can we remain great? This is the question that will only be answered over a period of time. Some of our better thinkers are worried that time might be running out unless we identify and solve the basic problems we have allowed to develop during the past few decades.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PORTER].

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from Michigan for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this concurrent resolution.

Mr. Speaker, the congressional human rights caucus that I am privileged to cochair throughout its almost entire 10-year history has directed great interest and concern for the Kurds. That has occurred both prior to and since Desert Storm.

Several years ago, we brought Mrs. Francoise Mitterrand to Washington, the First Lady of France, to tell of her great concerns about the Kurdish people and their mistreatment in all of the countries in which they find their population spread. That discrimination and suffering has been great in each of these countries, but it has been most profound in Iraq where Saddam Hussein turned his toxic chemical weapons upon his own people, the Kurdish people, killing thousands of them and where that suffering and discrimination has been intensive throughout this entire period.

So I want to commend my colleagues in the Congress, the gentleman from Nevada [Mr. BILBRAY], the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ], the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON], the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD], the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER], and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. YATRON], all of whom have shown great concern for the suffering of the Kurdish people, and for bringing this resolution to the floor of the House.

Elections have now been held in northern Iraq. We commend the people for their courage and for taking this important step, but our support for the Kurdish people must continue to provide the protection for them that is absolutely essential, and this resolution points us in the right direction, Mr. Speaker, and I would urge its adoption by the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, history has been very unkind to the Kurds. For centuries they have been in ethnic limbo, split between as many as four different nations and always prevented from fully expressing their political will. In times of political or military uncertainty, the Kurds frequently have been brutally repressed by leaders who fear that they will rise up and demand representation or independence.

The latest chapter in the sad tale of the Kurds has been the gulf war. Following Saddam Hussein's crushing defeat at the hands of the U.S. military, he sent his forces north to crush a fledgling Kurdish uprising. With the help of the United States and the United Nations, Saddam's aggression against the Kurds was checked and relief supplies were made available to them through Operation Provide Comfort. In addition, a security zone was established in Iraq north of the 36th parallel to provide a haven for the Kurds. This zone is patrolled by U.N. observers. In addition, the Turkish Government has agreed to allow Uni-

ted States forces to use bases in southern Turkey to provide assistance to the Kurds. Unfortunately, the agreements allowing the United States to operate in southern Turkey and the United Nations to operate in northern Iraq both expire in June 1992.

House Concurrent Resolution 299 urges the United States to seek an extension of the agreement with Turkey which will allow United States forces to continue to assist the Kurds. This legislation also urges the United Nations to continue to operate in northern Iraq.

Mr. Speaker, the Kurds must not be forgotten. If the United States and United Nations turn their backs on the Kurds, Saddam will have a free hand to commit the types of human rights abuses that we all know he is capable. I urge members to support House Concurrent Resolution 299 and to support the human rights of the Kurdish people.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolution 299 regarding the Kurds in northern Iraq. I am pleased to be an original cosponsor of this measure and commend the author, the distinguished gentleman from Nevada [Mr. BILBRAY] for his commitment to alleviating the plight of the Kurds in Iraq. I also commend the distinguished chairmen of the Human Rights and International Organizations Subcommittee, Mr. YATRON, and the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, Mr. HAMILTON, for their willingness to take prompt action on this timely measure so that it could be considered by the full House today.

Mr. Speaker, the agreement that allows the United States to station military forces in southern Turkey in order to provide protection to the Kurds in northern Iraq expires this month. Furthermore, the agreement between the United Nations and the Government of Iraq, which established humanitarian centers and safe areas in northern Iraq for Kurds and others, also expires at the end of this month. It is imperative that both these agreements be extended immediately. The lives of thousands of Kurds, who have suffered massively under the brutal regime of the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, depend on the protection afforded them by the United Nations presence in the north of Iraq and by the coalition forces stationed in Turkey. We cannot allow Saddam Hussein to once again unleash his tyranny on these beleaguered people.

House Concurrent Resolution 299 addresses this urgent need. It calls upon the Turkish Government to permit the continued stationing of United States and other coalition forces on its territory. The measure calls for the extension of the United Nations presence in northern Iraq and calls upon the Iraqi Government to lift the economic boycott of northern Iraq. I believe firmly that the U.S. Government should work vigorously toward these ends.

Mr. Speaker, that Iraqi Kurds took a giant step toward the realization of their democratic aspirations last month when they conducted, under difficult conditions, what are acknowledged to be free and fair elections. We, in the United States, who have rightly made democratic reform and respect for human rights a cornerstone of our foreign policy, cannot now abandon those who, at great personal risk, seek to exercise those rights. The Kurds deserve our support and protection. I urge unani-

mous consent of House Concurrent Resolution 299.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, House Concurrent Resolution 299 expresses the sense of the Congress that the international community should extend the mandate of Operation Provide Comfort in northern Iraq and southern Turkey.

Provide Comfort, a U.N.-sponsored operation, has supplied security, food, and shelter for hundreds of thousands of Kurdish refugees now living in northern Iraq and Turkey. These refugees were forced to flee their homes in February and March of 1991 when Iraqi forces brutally suppressed a Kurdish uprising.

Operation Provide Comfort's mandate has been relatively successful in protecting the Kurds against Iraqi attacks.

Turkey has permitted United States forces to be stationed on its soil to provide air cover for the Kurds and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees has been administering the camps.

However, Ankara's agreement with the United States military and the United Nations accord with Iraq to administer the refugee camps are both set to expire in June.

The Government of Turkey is currently considering whether it should extend the agreement with the United States beyond June.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will soon be transferring its responsibilities for administering the camps to UNICEF which must reach a new agreement with Baghdad on the continued presence of the United Nations in the security zone.

This resolution calls on all parties to extend the mandate and also calls on Iraq to end its economic boycott of northern Iraq which is responsible for the massive suffering of thousands of civilian Kurds.

Mr. Speaker, while it is critically important to support Operation Provide Comfort, it is clear that as long as Saddam is in power the Kurds will never be safe from Iraqi aggression.

The resolution complements U.S. policy objectives with respect to this issue. The administration has informed us in writing that they have no objection to this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend Chairman FASCELL, Congressman BROOMFIELD, Chairman HAMILTON, Congressman BEREUTER, Congressman BILBRAY, and Congressman GILMAN for supporting this resolution.

I urge my colleagues to adopt this resolution.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MONTGOMERY). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 299, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include therein extraneous material on House Concurrent Resolution 299, the concurrent resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

COMMENDING ALBANIA FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 305) commending the people of Albania for their successful democratic election, urging the acceleration of market reforms in Albania, urging the President to expedite the negotiation of a commercial agreement with Albania, and urging an increase of aid to Albania, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. CON. RES. 305

Whereas the people of Albania held a successful democratic election on March 22, 1992;

Whereas the newly elected government of Albania has promised to institute market reforms and establish democratic institutions; and

Whereas the Albanian economy has collapsed and the Albania people are unable to meet any basic needs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress—

(1) commends the people of Albania for the successful democratic election that was held on March 22, 1992, and that was both equitable and representative;

(2) urges the newly-elected Albanian government to accelerate market reforms and complete the establishment of democratic institutions at all levels of government;

(3) urges the President to take steps to increase trade opportunities between the United States and Albania;

(4) urges that increased humanitarian assistance be provided to Albania, especially emergency shipments of basic food commodities; and

(5) urges that priority be given to helping the Albania agricultural sector provide adequate food supplies to the Albanian people.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON].

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolu-

tion 305 as amended. This resolution: Commends the people of Albania for successful democratic elections held March 22, 1992; urges the newly elected government to accelerate market reforms; urges the President to increase trade opportunities between the United States and Albania; urges that increased humanitarian assistance be provided to Albania; and urges that priority be given to helping the Albanian agricultural sector provide adequate food supplies to the Albanian people.

I would like to underscore for my colleagues the importance of adequate food and medical assistance to Albania at this time. A new democratically elected government in Albania cannot succeed if its election is followed by mass hunger, or even starvation. I hope the United States will provide leadership and energize the international community to address Albania's pressing humanitarian needs.

I would like to commend my colleague from Kansas, Mrs. MEYERS, for her leadership in introducing this resolution. I also would like to commend Chairman FASCELL, for his willingness to expedite this resolution's consideration.

I urge adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 305, as amended.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend Congresswoman MEYERS for her fine work in crafting this legislation.

This resolution commends the people of Albania for their recent democratic election, urges the new Albanian Government to adopt free market economic principles and urges our Government to increase humanitarian assistance to that poor country.

In recent years, I have been personally involved in encouraging the administration to recognize Albania, open an Embassy there, and assist the Albanian people in every way possible. I commend President Bush for his fine efforts to date, but note that much more needs to be done if we are to avert a real disaster in Albania.

The economy of Albania has been shattered, and more humanitarian assistance is badly needed. Albania's hospitals lack the basic equipment and medicines that we in the United States take for granted. I want to highlight the excellent humanitarian work of a good friend and constituent of mine, Ekrem Bardha, one of the top leaders of the ethnic Albanian community in the United States. He has dedicated much time and effort to providing medical equipment to the hospitals in Albania. We Americans have done a first-class job in helping to end communism in that once-closed society, but now the real work of nation-building begins.

The new government of Dr. Sali Berisha desperately needs more assist-

ance if he is to keep his promises to the Albanian people who bravely chose democracy over communism. Authoritarian forces in Albania are waiting for the new Berisha government to stumble and fall. We do not want to turn our backs on that struggling democracy when it desperately needs our helping hand.

I urge my colleagues to support this timely resolution.

□ 1320

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Kansas [Mrs. MEYERS], the principal sponsor of this resolution.

Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas. I thank the gentleman very much for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to thank the leadership of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] for their assistance, and certainly the chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and Middle East, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN].

Mr. Speaker, the xenophobic regime of Enver Hoxha and his successors left Albania the poorest and most isolated in Europe. The people of Albania deserve our congratulations for their efforts to bring their country out of the economic and social wreckage caused by the 45-year-long communist dictatorship. The new government under President Sali Berisha has promised to turn Albania into a market economy and establish democratic institutions. We must encourage them to follow through on those promises as quickly as possible, and give them whatever technical assistance and advice they need to set up those institutions.

The United States has reached a trade agreement with Albania, and the President has waived Jackson-Vanik. This agreement must be finalized so Congress can approve it so Albania can get most-favored-nation status and American investments in Albania will be eligible for OPIC insurance. American exports to Albania have tripled in the past 2 years, and the potential is there for much more. Several American companies are exploring for oil, and there is also the potential for tourism along the Adriatic coast.

But the Albanian people are still in a dire situation. The departing communist government has left the economy in a tragic shambles. I met with the new Albanian Minister of Trade and Foreign Economic Relations last month, Mr. Naske Afexzoli, and he told me that the former government gave false figures to the European Community concerning the amount of food Albania needed. As a result, the Albanian people cannot get cooking oil, sugar, rice, eggs, cheese, meat, or soap. He ex-

pressed a desperate need for emergency food commodities.

America and Americans are very popular in Albania. The Secretary of State was mobbed by well-wishers when he was there. I think everything should be done to help these poor people. There is a real danger of famine. I hope we can demonstrate that America will help Albania recover from the darkness and poverty that that poor country was subjected to.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN].

Mr. GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Concurrent Resolution 305 and I join in commending the gentlelady from Kansas [Mrs. MEYERS] for her outstanding and timely work on this measure and for the support by our distinguished chairman of our Subcommittee on Europe and Middle East, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] and the distinguished committee ranking member, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD], for their support.

This measure, most appropriately, commends the people of Albania for their successful democratic election held on March 22, 1992, and urges the newly elected Government of Albania to accelerate market reforms and complete the establishment of democratic institutions at all levels of government.

In addition, it urges our President to take steps to increase trade opportunities between the United States and Albania. As many of you know, our Nation recently signed a trade agreement with Albania, the first phase of which, I hope can be implemented shortly.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, this measure urges increased humanitarian assistance to Albania, especially emergency food assistance. This is an appropriate and timely measure and I strongly support and urge its unanimous adoption.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER].

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and rise in strong support of House Concurrent Resolution 305 and commend the gentlewoman from Kansas [Mrs. MEYERS], my colleague, for introducing this legislation.

It is entirely appropriate, of course, that we commend the Albanian people on their move toward democracy and their leaders on moving toward market reforms and democratic institutions. But I think, as our colleagues who visited Albania recently and other Americans would attest, conditions there are desperate. They are the worst we find in any place in central, eastern or southeastern part of Europe.

They have a desperate need for humanitarian assistance and for technical assistance, and despite the isolation they have labored in for decades now, they know about America, they expect great things from us and they want to emulate us.

They have a desperate need that we should help them meet at this time.

I think it is important we also send a message to the administration that is already receptive that as soon as possible we fully implement the programs of the Export-Import Bank, OPIC, in addition to the humanitarian assistance which is needed right now in great amounts, food and medical supplies being at the top of the list.

Mr. Speaker, it is important, therefore, that we send a message of support to them and a recognition that we understand their needs, and I thank my colleagues for their initiative in forwarding this legislation.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PORTER].

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues on the floor today in recognizing the democratic shift in Albania in the past 3 years, including the free and fair elections held on March 22, 1992, and I commend Mrs. MEYERS and all the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs for their leadership in offering this important resolution.

Through history, Albania's central location, the Adriatic coast between Greece and Yugoslavia, has subjected it to occupation by a number of invaders, including a long occupation by the Ottomans.

In 1912, Albania gained its independence from the Ottomans. After a brief period of democratic development in the 1920's, Albania was ruled by King Zog until the Italians invaded in 1939. After World War II, the Communists under Enver Hoxha took control and molded Albania into one of the most closed, secretive, and repressive societies on Earth. Hoxha's extreme Stalinist rhetoric led to breaks with Moscow in the 1960's and Beijing in the 1970's and further isolated Albania.

Although Albania is resource rich, strict adherence to Communist dogma has run its economy into the ground, making Albania the poorest nation on the European continent. Desperate economic conditions coupled with democratic transformations in other Central and Eastern European nations and a very large population of jobless young people led to mass demonstrations in January 1990 in many cities, including the northern city of Shkoder.

This March, true democracy took root in Albania as elections were held for the 140 seats in the unicameral People's Assembly. The Democratic Party,

which advocates broad-based and widespread economic and political reforms, won just under two-thirds of the Assembly seats. The Socialist Party—the former Communists—won only a small number of seats.

An election observation team from the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe was in Albania for the election and certified that the electoral outcome legitimately reflected the will of the people of Albania.

Many problems remain in Albania as a result of years of statist, authoritarian control. As a result of the years of Communist rule, the economy is in shambles, food is in short supply, and unemployment is staggering. Nevertheless, the Albanians recognize that democracy is the most solid foundation for building a strong, vibrant society and they have taken the important first step of holding free and fair elections.

The United States welcomes Albania back into the community of nations, supports its fledgling democracy, and looks forward to continued adherence to democratic principles in Albania.

□ 1330

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. ZELIFF].

Mr. ZELIFF. Mr. Speaker, I recently led a privately funded delegation to Yugoslavia and Albania. What a thrill it was to see these people throw off the yoke of oppression and vote for a democratic form of government. On March 22, 1992, election day in Albania, we were traveling from Struga on the Yugoslavian-Albanian border to Tirane, the capital of Albania.

As our group traveled down out of the mountains we traveled through many small villages. The Albanians in seeing our motorcade pass by, on roads where cars are not seen regularly, raised their hands with the victory sign. This we were hopeful meant that the election was proceeding smoothly and towards democracy and away from communism.

Upon arriving in Tirane we were briefed by representatives of the Albanian Government and international observing teams who were there to try to ensure truly free and fair elections. International observers as well as U.S. Embassy personnel had been traveling by road where possible and by helicopter where there are no roads to monitor the process. The early reports that night were very encouraging.

Early the next day, the day after the elections, I had the privilege to meet with Ambassador Ryerson and his staff at the U.S. Embassy. Even with many villages to be heard from it appeared that the elections had gone better than anyone had expected and that there was an overwhelming victory for the democratic movement.

Later that morning, I had the good fortune to meet Sali Berisha who at that time was the leader of the Democratic Party and who has subsequently been elected President by the new parliament. In a brief conversation with Berisha I inquired as to whether or not he had enough skilled people to fill the key cabinet positions in his government.

He indicated he did but that the problem they had was that they did not know how to draft legislation or amend their constitution and needed help in developing a plan to create a democratic form of government. He called on the mature democracies of the world to send advisers to help the new government leaders with these tasks.

A few minutes after this meeting we were on the platform with President Berisha in Skenderberg Square when he spoke to hundreds of thousands of his euphoric countrymen. What an experience it was to hear these extremely poor people chanting God bless democracy and even God bless America.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 305. One of Albania's most critical needs is humanitarian aid. In addition, their agricultural production has fallen drastically during the last year or two. I was glad to learn from Ambassador Ryerson that one of the immediate actions of the United States was arranging for the importation of fertilizer in an attempt to help alleviate the critical food shortage.

Albania also needs all forms of medicine and medical equipment. I toured their best children's hospital and witnessed the crudest of medical care. Sterilization was by hot water boiled in a pan. There was no blood testing equipment of any kind and there was a dire shortage of even the most rudimentary supplies such as needles.

According to many experts, Albania is the poorest of the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. If it is to survive as a democracy, the Free world must unite by providing both public and private assistance. Albania is rich in natural resources and has great natural beauty.

It is in the United States' interest to see Albania and the other emerging democracies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union grow and prosper so that the peace dividend we are now enjoying will be permanent.

Let freedom ring.

Mr. Speaker, I again support House Concurrent Resolution 305.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of House Concurrent Resolution 305. This timely resolution commends the people of Albania for their successful democratic election, urges the newly elected Albanian Government to accelerate market reforms and complete the establishment of democratic institutions at all levels of government, urges the President to take steps to increase trade op-

portunities between the United States and Albania, and urges that increased humanitarian assistance be provided to Albania. I commend Representatives MEYERS, BROOMFIELD, and GILMAN for introducing House Concurrent Resolution 305, and I urge my colleagues to join me in its support.

As Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Helsinki Commission, I have held a longstanding interest in Albania's progress toward democracy. Indeed, just over 1 year ago, following Albania's flawed first multiparty elections and a Commission delegation visit to Albania led by our co-chairman, Senator DECONCINI, the Commission convened a hearing regarding democratic developments in that country. Among the witnesses was Sali Berisha, then chairman of the Democratic Party, the first alternative political party in Albania. Today, 1 year later, Sali Berisha is Albania's President, poised to steer his country through a new era of reform. Also presenting testimony was Ismail Kadare, Albania's best-known novelist, who had defected in 1990 and has only recently returned to his homeland.

The March 1992 elections that brought Mr. Berisha to power were Albania's second multiparty elections since political pluralism was first accepted by that country's Communist leadership in late 1990. Despite the decision to ban ethnically based parties and groups from running candidates—a decision which violated Albania's commitments under CSCE—the elections as a whole were held in a manner that legitimately reflected the will of the people of Albania. In an almost complete reversal of the first electoral contest, the Democratic Party garnered just under two-thirds of the seats in the national parliament, known as the People's Assembly.

But successful democratic elections are only the beginning of Albania's difficult journey. As noted in the report of the Helsinki Commission staff delegation that observed the March 1992 elections, given the desperate state of the economy and an absence of social order, the new Assembly, Government, and President will all have to take quick advantage of the favorable political momentum to lead Albania—the poorest country in Europe—out of the dire straits in which the country finds itself. Its needs are certainly great. Popular expectations are high, however, and insufficient effort to meet these expectations may result in a quick decline in the political fortunes of the new leaders as well as continued deterioration in the overall situation in Albania.

House Concurrent Resolution 305 urges the newly elected Albanian Government to respond to this challenge with the acceleration of market reforms and the completion of the establishment of democratic institutions at all levels of government. At the same time, it urges President Bush to take steps to increase trade opportunities between the United States and Albania, and urges an increase of humanitarian assistance. This element is crucial. For now that Albania has moved into a new era, the international community, and especially the United States, should assist that country in meeting its many challenges. I do believe that the administration, and particularly our Ambassador to Albania, William Ryerson, realize this and are responding. The resolution

before us is important in that it expresses congressional support for and further encouragement of these efforts.

Mr. Speaker, when Sali Berisha spoke before the Helsinki Commission last year, he emphasized that America's engagement was of real encouragement to the forces of democracy in his country. As he put it then, "the opening and not the closing of the United States toward Albania, the intensification of relations and not the practice of wait and see, are essential for the development of democracy in Albania." The people of Albania, in the latest elections, have signaled their commitment to the democratic path. It would be shortsighted for the West, through negligence or indifference, to make them think they made the wrong choice.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HUTTO). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON] that the House suspend the rule and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con Res. 305), as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended, and the concurrent resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on House Concurrent Resolution 305, as amended, the concurrent resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

REGARDING BURMA

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 473) expressing the continuing concern of the House of Representatives about the situation in Burma and its implications for the region.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 473

Whereas the people of Burma continue to live under a brutal military regime that has restricted freedom of expression and association, has imprisoned and tortured political opponents, has refused to implement results of national elections held in 1990, and has detained under house arrest the leader of the political opposition, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi.

Whereas the Burmese regime has also conducted military operations against ethnic insurgents in border areas, during which Burmese troops have committed egregious

human rights abuses against civilians, including rape, torture, summary execution, destruction of property, and forced relocation;

Whereas these operations have resulted in internal displacement and outflows of hundreds of thousands of Burmese into several countries in the region;

Whereas the Burmese regime's ability to conduct such military operations has been enhanced through the import of arms and military equipment;

Whereas the People's Republic of China is by far the largest supplier of arms and military equipment to the Burmese regime;

Whereas the refugee outflow from Burma has imposed an extraordinary burden upon the Government of Bangladesh, which has provided asylum to more than 250,000 Rohingyas who have recently fled Burma;

Whereas although the Government of Burma and the Government of Bangladesh have reached an accord on the voluntary repatriation of Rohingya refugees, the Burmese authorities have not provided credible and verifiable assurances that the repression that prompted the refugee exodus has ended and have not agreed to permit the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to be present in Burma to monitor the return of refugees;

Whereas without such assurances and a monitoring presence by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, it is unlikely that Rohingya refugees will elect to return to Burma in significant numbers;

Whereas the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, by a unanimous vote on March 3, 1992, adopted a resolution condemning Burma for human rights violations and appointing a special rapporteur to give a public report at the next meetings of the United Nations General Assembly and Commission on Human Rights; and

Whereas the Burmese regime has announced the release of some 100 political prisoners, as well as its intention to begin discussions on the formation of a national convention to draft a new constitution: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) condemns ongoing abuses of internationally recognized human rights in Burma, and strongly urges the Burmese authorities to lift martial law and all restrictions on freedom of speech and expression, to release all persons confined for the peaceful expression of their political opinions, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and to commit to the prompt transition to a freely elected civilian government;

(2) welcomes the efforts of governments within the region to provide asylum for Burmese refugees and displaced persons, and urges that no Burmese asylum-seeker be returned to Burma under current conditions;

(3) commends the extraordinary effort of the Government of Bangladesh to provide assistance to Rohingya refugees, urges increased levels of United States refugee assistance to Bangladesh for the Rohingya refugees, welcomes the decision of the Government of Bangladesh not to return any Rohingya refugee against his or her will, and urges the Government of Bangladesh to work closely with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to ensure against repatriation until the conditions for safe and secure return are in place;

(4) urges the Burmese authorities to provide credible and verifiable assurances that the repression that prompted the refugee exodus has ended and to permit the United Na-

tions High Commissioner for Refugees to be present in Burma to monitor the return of refugees;

(5) urges the Government of the People's Republic of China to end all military transfers to Burma, which have served to strengthen the ability of the Burmese regime to undertake combat operations that have fostered the refugee exodus; and

(6) commends the President for implementing an arms embargo against Burma and urging other nations to implement similar measures, and urges the President to seek a mandatory international arms embargo on Burma.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] will be recognized for 20 minutes, and the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] will be recognized for 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ].

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the situation in Burma, to put it bluntly, is a mess. At a time when the winds of democracy seem to be sweeping over almost every corner and continent of the globe, the stench of tyranny that emanates from Burma is like the smell of sulfur from some kind of chemical plant that pollutes an entire neighborhood. The regime in that country is a regime whose trademark is terror, torture and tyranny, and this resolution is designed to call attention to continuing abuses of human rights in Burma and the negative implications for regional security and stability that are the direct consequences of the repressive policies and practices of tyranny in Rangoon.

Mr. Speaker, in 1988, in the fall of that year, in an action which provided us with an awful pre-vision of the massacre in Tiananmen Square in China a year later, the regime in Rangoon cracked down on the people of Burma at a moment when it appeared as if people power was about to triumph in that country. As a result, thousands lost their lives, and thousands of others were thrown into prison. In an effort to reestablish a degree of political normality in that country, the so-called State Law and Order Restoration Council arranged for national elections to be held in 1990. But much to their surprise, the National League for Democracy, led by one of the most courageous and remarkable women of our time, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi—who had already been placed under house arrest by the time of the elections—won a majority of the vote. As a demonstration of how little they were committed to the restoration of genuine democracy and civilian government, the State Law and Order Restoration Council, unhappy with the results of the election, promptly decided to cancel the election and threw many of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's supporters into prison.

As if this was not enough, the regime in Rangoon then launched intensified

campaigns of military repression against the various ethnic minorities in Burma, as a result of which, over the course of the last year, a quarter of a million Rohingyas—Muslim Burmese—have been driven from their villages and forced to seek refuge in the neighboring country of Bangladesh.

This resolution, Mr. Speaker, calls attention to all of these deplorable developments. It urges the Burmese authorities to lift martial law and the other restrictions on freedom of speech and the press that exist there. It takes note of the fact that the Burmese regime recently released about a hundred political prisoners, but points out that Daw Aung San Suu Kyi—who, since being placed under house arrest, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize—and many others remain in custody, and urges their release as well. It also notes that the Government of Bangladesh, in a selfless act of humanitarian compassion, has permitted the 250,000 Rohingya refugees to remain in Bangladesh. It urges that they not be returned against their will, and that repatriation not take place until the conditions in Burma are such that Rohingyas can be sent back with arrangements having been made for their security and well-being.

□ 1340

If anyone listening to this debate wonders how we square a call for the safety of the refugees in Bangladesh with the recent decision to return all of the Haitian boat people to Haiti without even attempting to determine whether they are eligible for refugee status, I must say I do not have a very good answer. I suppose someone could say that a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, although in this case it would not be a foolish consistency. The truth is that our new policy toward the Haitian boat people is a national embarrassment, and it will doubtless render somewhat hypocritical in the eyes of the Government of Bangladesh the text of this resolution, which urges them not to send back refugees to Burma against their will, and not to repatriate Rohingyas until arrangements have been established which would guarantee their safety.

I can only say, Mr. Speaker, that two wrongs do not make a right, and it would only compound the tragedy which has now befallen the Haitian boat people if, as a consequence of this misguided and misbegotten policy, we were to feel restricted and unable to express our concerns about the mistreatment of those fleeing oppression elsewhere.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, this resolution urges the Government of China, which is providing the bulk of the arms that the Burmese regime is using to suppress its own people, to stop military transfers to Burma, and it commends

the President for implementing a unilateral United States arms embargo against that country.

Mr. Speaker, I do not anticipate that this resolution and the action of the House in adopting it will be a front-page story in the Washington Post or the New York Times or any of the other major newspapers around the country, but it will undoubtedly be featured on the Voice of America. And given the extent to which millions of Burmese depend on VOA for news about what is happening both in the world and in their own country, I have no doubt it will serve to let them know that they have not been forgotten, and that the Congress of the United States, the embodiment of the aspirations of men and women to be free all over the world, is prepared to continue taking up the cudgels on their behalf.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I merely take this time to compliment the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ], as well as the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LEACH], for sponsoring this important resolution.

Mr. Speaker, in 1988, Burma's military government, the so-called State Law and Order Restoration Council suppressed a massive pro-democracy movement. In 1990, it disregarded the National Assembly election results in which the National League for Democracy overwhelmingly defeated the government, winning 80 percent of the seats.

These two events are examples of the deplorable human rights situation that exists in Burma today. Burma is a police state with troops posted in all the major cities. Politically motivated arrests continue—as does torture, arbitrary detention, and forced labor. Freedom of speech, press, and assembly are nonexistent.

The Burmese Government's actions have also been felt outside its borders. In the past few months, over 250,000 Burmese Moslems have fled to Bangladesh, and over 70,000 other ethnic minorities have crossed to Thailand. These people have been fleeing policies that subject them to torture, rape, murder, and slave labor.

The administration should be commended for its efforts to increase bilateral and multilateral pressures on Burma. This resolution would help present a unified view, through the actions of the executive and legislative branches, that the United States is firmly opposed to the oppressive human rights and political situation in Burma today.

Mr. Speaker, this is an important message to send. I commend the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, DANTE FASCELL, and Congressmen SOLARZ and LEACH of the Asia Subcommittee, for bringing this resolution before us. I urge my colleagues to give it their support.

Mr. Speaker, I turn the balance of my time over to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LEACH], who is the ranking

member of the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD] and I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, let me just say first that this is a small reflection but an important reflection of why this House is so well served by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ]. We all hope that the gentleman's contributions to this body will be noted by all.

This is a timely expression of ongoing congressional concern for Burma. It is bipartisan, it is bi-institutional, and I would simply like to stress that while people may differ from time to time with our administration's foreign policy in any part of the world, it is the United States of America that has taken the lead on this issue.

The United States has embargoed the export of arms to Burma, it has worked to establish the international arms embargo, it has monitored the sale of arms to Burma by third parties, it has worked to discourage such sales, it has terminated aid to Burma, it has worked to build a consensus among developed countries to also withhold bilateral aid, it has suspended GSP trade preferences, it has declined to renew the bilateral textile agreement, it has opposed loans to Burma by the international financial institutions, and it has worked with other interested countries to develop multilateral initiatives in the General Assembly of the United Nations and the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

There is one point which the gentleman from New York made which I think is very poignant and ought to be stressed, and that is that 250,000 Rohingyas—and these are Moslem minorities—have voted with their feet to leave Burma and go to the world's poorest society, Bangladesh, at least the poorest society in Asia. This gives us an enormous indication of the kinds of treatment that are being received in Burma itself.

What we have is the existence of what can only be described as a pogrom against a minority within a small province. My own view is that it is incumbent on all of us to work to see that this activity is brought to an end, and it is only likely to be brought to an end if what the gentleman from New York has described as the State Law and Order Restoration Council is also brought to an end.

I must say that every once in a while an acronym has achieved the sound of its own meaning, and the State Law and Order Restoration Council—SLORC—stands very much in the course of history with other great acronyms like KGB and MVD, and this country has a very real reason to do what it can to see that things change in this great country.

Mr. Speaker, I conclude my remarks simply with a commendation of Sec-

retary Baker's initiatives in this part of the world and also with a commendation of Aung San Suu Kyi when she—and I think this is very telling—said that "Where there is no justice there can be no secure peace." Also Aung San Suu Kyi in her book made a comment that I thought was very profound as kind of a caveat to Lord Acton, who, as we all know, said in effect that "Power corrupts and absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely," when she modified this caveat with this added dictum, with the notion that "there is nothing more corrupt than fear of losing power."

That is exactly the fear that exists in Burma today. It is a fear that has led to the worst kind of oppression, and it is something that this House has as a democratic institution an obligation to comment upon.

Mr. Speaker, this is a timely expression of ongoing Congressional concern with the situation in Burma. It is a bipartisan endeavor and has the full support of the minority.

Members are all too familiar with the events of September 1988, when the Burmese military engineered a coup, declared martial law, and violently suppressed massive demonstrations for democracy.

In 1990, Burma's military dictatorship, the State Law and Order Restoration Council—better known by the odious acronym SLORC—sought to legitimize its rule by holding relatively free elections. They badly miscalculated. The SLORC was overwhelmingly repudiated by the people at the polls. The opposition National League for Democracy won 392 of the 485 contested seats, even though its leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, who was awarded the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize, was under house arrest. Ignoring the vehement protests of the international community, the SLORC has failed to implement the election results despite continuing promises to do so.

In this regard, the United States has led the international community in efforts to convince the Burmese military regime to transfer power to a civilian government and release political prisoners.

In particular, the United States has embargoed the export of arms to Burma; worked to establish an international arms embargo; monitored the sale of arms to Burma by third countries and worked to discourage such sales; terminated aid to Burma and worked to build a consensus among other developed countries to also withhold bilateral aid; suspended Burma's GSP trade preferences; declined to renew a bilateral textile agreement; opposed loans to Burma by the international financial institutions; and worked with other interested countries to develop multilateral initiatives in the U.N. General Assembly and U.N. Human Rights Commission.

In addition, the United States has made significant diplomatic and financial contributions toward a humane resolution of the ongoing Rohingya refugee crisis. More steps unfortunately will have to be considered to relieve the plight of the Burmese people, including the over 250,000 Rohingyas now encamped in Bangladesh, but to date the effort of the administration has been impressive. Likewise,

the extraordinary efforts of the Government of Bangladesh and international aid agencies to provide food, medicine, land and shelter to the beleaguered Rohingya refugees deserve our commendation and continued support.

The brutal pogrom against this Moslem minority must be brought to an end; such a prospect is likely to occur only if the egregious misrule of SLORC is also brought to an end.

The plain fact with which we must contend, however, is that the influence of the United States—and most of the developed world—in Burma is limited. Likewise, international consensus on appropriate sanctions does not exist.

Hence the import of endeavoring to convince Burma's neighbors in the region, particularly ASEAN, China, and Japan, that their dialog with Burma should not be an end in itself but means to an end: namely, a more humane, efficient, and law-abiding government in Rangoon which contributes to regional economic growth and stability. This was, of course, the basic message of Secretary Baker at the ASEAN post-ministerial meeting last July.

We have seen some very tentative signs that Burma may increasingly be seen by some ASEAN states as the region's most important post-Cambodia diplomatic problem. In this regard, Malaysia and Indonesia, in particular, have undertaken a welcome leadership role. Realistically, however, we must assume that regional actors will tend toward caution, be reactive, and largely driven by events. It is therefore incumbent on Washington to continue urging ASEAN to seriously examine the question of Burma and accord it an important place on their diplomatic agenda.

There has been some encouraging evidence of change in Rangoon in recent weeks, including the release of over 100 political prisoners. Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that there can be no hope of stability along Burma's borders, or respect for human rights within, until the SLORC releases its grip on power and cedes legal authority to a representative civilian government. In the words of Aung San Suu Kyi, recipient of the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize, "where there is no justice, there can be no secure peace."

Power, as Lord Acton noted, tends to corrupt, but as Aung San Suu Kyi notes in a Burmese context: As corrupting as the acquisition of power is, nothing is more corrupting than the fear of losing it.

I urge the adoption of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], under whose leadership I look forward to working in the next Congress.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Resolution 473, a resolution expressing continued concern about the situation in Burma and implications for the region. I commend the chairman of the Asia and Pacific Subcommittee, Mr. SOLARZ and the ranking minority member, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LEACH], for their leadership on this issue. And I thank the chairman of our Foreign Affairs Committee, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL], and the ranking

minority member, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD], for bringing this resolution before the House at this appropriate time.

Two weeks ago, Prof. Michael Aris, the husband of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi spoke at a news conference in Bangkok after the first reunion with his wife since December 1989. She has been under house arrest in Rangoon since July of that year. The State Law and Order Restoration Council [SLORC] of Burma has finally allowed him and his children to have a short visit with the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize winner. In addition, Burma has released a few political prisoners.

All of this is a part of SLORC's effort to appear to the outside world to be liberalizing its rule. Mr. Aris said his wife, "is not yet convinced that this is the beginning of genuine reform. But she is prepared to give the authorities the benefit of the doubt." He repeated for emphasis: "Please mark my words, she is prepared to give the authorities the benefit of the doubt."

Mr. Speaker, I can see why this brave woman, who only can depend on her words and hopefully the concern of the international community, would say such a thing. But I do not believe many of us here will be fooled by any cosmetic attempt by Burma to conceal the execution of the estimated 3,000 prodemocracy demonstrators and the jailing and torturing of many of Suu's followers.

According to the 1992 international narcotics control strategy report published by the Department of State, the production of illicit drugs in Burma has doubled since the formation of the SLORC in 1988. It comes, therefore, with further alarm that we learned that Burma was able to afford to purchase nearly \$1 billion worth of Chinese arms and were engaged in waging war against many of its ethnic minorities and government opposition groups.

SLORC is starting to become concerned about international attention to their hard rule and they have taken some reconciliatory actions. An arms embargo against SLORC would not only benefit those struggling for democratic rule in Burma but it would make our own Nation more secure as we battle against drug usage here in our own Nation. Hopefully, as Burma undertakes its reconciliatory actions, it will abide by international humanitarian concerns and will join our Nation in battling illicit drugs.

Accordingly, in the interim, I support House Resolution 473 and urge my colleagues to vote for the bill.

□ 1350

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER].

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, as ranking member of the Human Rights Subcommittee, I rule in strong support of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, democratic revolution that has swept so many tyrannies from the world has suffered a tragic setback in Burma. This brutal and repressive military dictatorship, which calls itself the State Law and Order Restoration Council [SLORC], seems determined to erase any trace of human dignity.

Having stolen the 1990 election from the clear victor—Ms. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi—the military junta no longer even attempts to justify its continued repressive rule. The army rules simply because it has the guns, and they make no apologies. As the State Department's Human Rights Country Reports notes—

An 11 p.m. to 4 a.m. curfew; surveillance of government employees and private citizens; restrictions on contact with foreigners; arrests, harassment, and torture of political activists; and repeated denunciations of agitators and foreign interference buttress the military's control.

Mr. Speaker, as mentioned by the distinguished gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LEACH], this barbarity has created a situation where hundreds of thousands of refugees have fled to Thailand and desperately poor Bangladesh. This is not surprising in a repressed society like Burma where anyone who can read and write is suspected of being a subversive. Indeed, even the families of individuals who have attended schools, or have expressed a political belief, are at risk. And this mind-boggling self-destruction has resulted in a flood of refugees.

Today's resolution condemns the Burmese Government for its repressive behavior, and commends the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees for its willingness to assist the refugees from Burmese tyranny. The resolution recognizes the mammoth task facing the UNHCR, and urges the administration to provide what assistance it can through existing refugee programs.

Mr. Speaker, this Member would commend the author of this resolution, the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ], for his drafting of this resolution. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia, he has labored mightily to ensure that the human rights violations of the illegitimate Government of Burma are not ignored. As an aside, Mr. Speaker, this Member would commend the gentleman from New York for referring to Burma, rather than accepting the military junta's national name change to Myanmar. This resolution talks about Burma, not Myanmar, and this Member recognizes and appreciates the significance and legitimacy of this distinction.

This Member would also mention the work of the chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations [Mr. YATRON], who was willing to move this legislation forward on very short notice. In addition, the chairman and ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Com-

mittee also helped to speed House Resolution 473 through the legislative process.

The subcommittees and full committee moved so speedily on this matter because this issue is so important.

Mr. Speaker, it is important for this body to address the pressing human rights issues of our day. While resolutions such as the one we are considering today often escape the attention of the Washington Post or the New York Times, we know by examples that they do draw the attention of our intended audience. This body can be absolutely certain that the thugs who continue to terrorize Burma are watching this debate with interest. And the U.S. House is delivering the message that their misbehavior is not going unnoticed. This body is delivering the message that the Burmese regime is, and until democracy is restored will continue to be, a pariah nation. It is a message that is well worth delivering.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BEREUTER] for his very thoughtful comments.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PORTER], one of the great human rights leaders of the House.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to thank the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. LEACH] for his kind remarks.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 473, a resolution concerning the dire situation in Burma. This resolution is essential to show the military government currently in power that the United States Congress will not sit silently by while ongoing violations of human rights in Burma continue.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] did not overstate in the least the terrible oppressive nature of the military regime in Rangoon. It is among the most barbaric and cruel on Earth. Torture, killings, disappearances, people held without trial or charge, all characterize the barbarity of this regime. We must demonstrate to the Burmese people that we will not allow them to be subjected to these abuses any longer.

Mr. Speaker, for 30 years, the Burmese people have had to endure life under an oppressive military government. Efforts to create a democratic society in Burma through peaceful demonstrations and elections have been thwarted by the ruling military junta. Aung San Suu Kyi, president of the National League for Democracy, bravely led her people in their most recent demonstrations for respect for basic rights in Burma. But she has been under house arrest since July 1989, because of her public protests against the Government. In 1990, her party won 80 percent of the seats in Parliament, by they were prohibited from filling the seats by the ruling military re-

gime. To this day, the legitimately elected Government in Burma has still not been recognized.

Aung San Suu Kyi, a lady of great courage and devotion to principle, was most deserving of the Nobel Peace Prize which she was awarded last year recognizing her nonviolent campaign for democracy in Burma. However, despite the international support that has been given to the democratic movement in Burma, life for most Burmese citizens continues to be miserable.

More than 250,000 Burmese Moslems have been forced to flee to Bangladesh in order to seek shelter from the Burmese Army. There are reports that the army has been indiscriminately raping and killing members of this religious community. The ruling junta in Burma has expelled members of the National League for Democracy and stepped up its campaign of terror against political opposition figures.

Mr. Speaker, we condemn these ongoing human rights abuses that have taken place in Burma and urge the Burmese Government to release all political prisoners, lift martial law, and regain its position among the community of nations.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, I would simply like to end by again extending my appreciation to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ], the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution on Burma and commend Congressman SOLARZ for introducing this very important resolution concerning the serious human rights situation in that country.

Even though the military regime has recently released over 100 political prisoners, conditions in Burma continue to deteriorate at an alarming rate. The military still refuses to recognize the 1990 election results and it is buying massive amounts of arms from China to use against its own people.

Because Burmese military atrocities have been particularly severe in the northwest, over 250,000 Burmese Moslems have sought refuge in neighboring Bangladesh. This resolution commends the Government of Bangladesh for providing asylum, and other countries in the region that have offered safe haven to Burmese fleeing the suppression of the military regime.

The role of the Chinese Government's support of the unelected military regime in Burma cannot be overstated. House Resolution 473 urges the Chinese Government to end all military transfers to Burma. The resolution also commends the President for implementing an arms embargo and further calls on the President to seek a mandatory international arms embargo against Burma.

I would urge my colleagues to send a strong message to the military regime in Burma by voting for this resolution.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, our colleagues STEPHEN SOLARZ and JIM LEACH have joined in introducing House Resolution 473, which expresses the continuing concern of the House of

Representatives about the situation in Burma and its implications for the region. I join my two colleagues in condemning ongoing abuses of internationally recognized human rights in Burma. I supported House Resolution 473 because it strongly urges the Burmese authorities to lift marital law and all restrictions on freedom of speech and expression, to release all persons confined for the peaceful expression of their political opinions, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and to commit to the prompt transition to a freely elected government. In addition, the resolution urges the Burmese authorities to provide credible and verifiable assurances that the repression that prompted the refugee exodus has ended and to permit the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees to be present in Burma and to monitor the return of refugees.

Mr. Speaker, I deplore the human rights abuses which are occurring in Burma today. I am concerned about the continued political stability in Burma, because this Nation is the largest producer of illicit opium and heroin. A repressive government which rules through intimidation cannot devote all the attention necessary to bring opium production under control. We continue to hear reports of complicity by some members of the regime and the military in the drug trade.

Burma's opium poppy is cultivated mostly in rugged mountainous areas of the Shan State. Mr. Speaker, from 1974 until 1988, the Government of Burma [GOB] cooperated with the United States in drug control efforts, because narcotics revenues supported the insurgents, particularly the Burmese Communist Party [BCP]. The BCP collapsed in 1989, and its forces divided into its ethnic Wa and Kokang components.

The GOB's crackdown on the democratic movement however, has made the drug situation worse. The military government's shift in 1988, of police and army resources from eradication and drug law enforcement efforts to suppression of domestic political opponents has enabled traffickers to expand their opium cultivation, heroin refining, and trafficking. The largest increases in opium cultivation have occurred in those areas where the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics Matters had funded eradication prior to 1988. At present, Burma's military rulers appear to attach a higher priority to peaceful coexistence with former insurgent groups than to combatting narcotics.

Meanwhile, poppy cultivation continues to expand. The U.S. Government estimated the 1989 to 1990 crop to be about 2,250 metric tons and the 1990 to 1991 crop to be about 2,350 metric tons. Large narcotics refineries, which operate with impunity along the Chinese border, now produce significant quan-

tities of heroin, along with their thriving counterpart along the Thai/Burma border.

Mr. Speaker, passage of House Resolution 473 would send a clear signal to Burmese leaders to get their political house in order, restore full human and political rights and dignity to the Burmese people and stimulate forceful action to curtail opium cultivation and heroin production.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friends on the other side of the aisle for their harsh words about the SLORC and their kind words about me.

Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HUTTO). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ] that the House suspend the rules and agree to the resolution, House Resolution 473.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks, and include therein extraneous material on House Resolution 473, the resolution just agreed to.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

TEENAGE SMOKING HABITS AND TOBACCO ADVERTISING

(Mr. MAZZOLI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous material.)

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, today three of my esteemed colleagues are joining with me in a letter addressed to the chairman and president of RJR Nabisco Co., the manufacturer of Camel cigarettes, requesting that RJR Nabisco discontinue its "Old Joe" Camel cigarette advertising campaign.

According to studies printed in the American Medical Association Journal of December 11, 1991, it is established that the "Old Joe" Camel campaign is especially appealing, if not targeted, to young people. It encourages them to smoke and to smoke Camel cigarettes.

The Surgeon General of the United States, Antonia Novello, in March a few months ago, requested that RJR Nabisco discontinue the "Old Joe" Camel advertising campaign.

Later today or sometime this week, time permitting, I will go into these Journal of the American Medical Association records more thoroughly, but I certainly hope, Mr. Speaker, that RJR Nabisco will exhibit the proper kind of corporate awareness and discontinue this kind of advertising campaign which does cause our young people to smoke and to expose themselves to its hazards.

Mr. Speaker, I include the letter to RJR Nabisco, as follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, June 1, 1992.

Mr. LOUIS V. GERSTNER, Jr.,
Chairman/President/C.E.O., RJR Nabisco Holdings Corp., New York, NY

DEAR MR. GERSTNER: We are writing concerning a study published in the December, 1991 issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA) which concludes that there is a close connection between teenage smoking habits and tobacco industry advertising.

In our view, this JAMA study of the RJR Nabisco Company's "Old Joe" advertising campaign for Camel cigarettes establishes that the cigarette brand preferences of young people are directly linked to tobacco advertising. It concludes that advertising promoted by the tobacco industry, whether intended or not, can and does encourage smoking among young people.

Since no one suggests smoking is good for the health or well-being of children, it would follow that any practice or activity which encourages smoking among children does them no benefit and should be discontinued.

We respectfully urge RJR Nabisco Company to comply with the March 9, 1992 request of Surgeon General Novello and voluntarily end the "Old Joe" advertising campaign for Camel cigarettes. Terminating this advertising campaign would demonstrate RJR Nabisco's concern for the health and well-being of the children of America.

Your consideration is appreciated. We look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

ROMANO L. MAZZOLI,
CHESTER G. ATKINS,
MIKE SYNAR,
PATRICIA SCHROEDER,
Members of Congress.

□ 1400

HELP FOR INNER CITIES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, I rise this afternoon to talk about an issue that has been before us and will be again this week, and that is funding and assistance to cities, in particular to inner cities and communities. No question, I think in any of our minds, that we need to provide some assistance to cities, that cities are troubled. The Los Angeles event, of course, is the most recent, but often there might well be the point that there would be others.

The point, I think, that needs to be made is the method that we use to assist. We have continued to think that

whenever there is a problem, particularly in the case of cities and in the case of communities, that what we ought to do, as the Federal Government, is to provide more money and send money in very much the same fashion that we have traditionally spent money over the years.

I guess the real question we ought to ask ourselves is, why would there be any expectation for change if we continued to do what we have been doing, which clearly does not work?

This is a year of change, I hope. We talk a lot about change. We talk a lot about procedural changes, and we closed the bank. And we do those things which we should do. The point is, we need also to take a look at the kinds of programs and expenditures that we have made over the years to see if indeed there are better ways to do what we have been doing in the past. We really need to ask ourselves, what are the real problems, what are the causes of the difficulties? What are the fundamental issues that we need to deal with? Is it a matter of jobs? Is it a matter of skills for people to hold jobs? Is it a matter of lack of investment, family cohesiveness, education? A number of things, of course, that probably all have some role.

Two things are certain: One is that continuing to send more money on the same basis to do the same thing will not result in change. The second clearly is that the Federal Government does not have an excessive amount of money. On the contrary, this same week that we will be talking about assistance to cities, we will also be talking about seeking a balanced budget and fiscal responsibility in this body. So as we think about it, I hope we will take a little look at some of the facts that surround the matter of financing and how we might best do that.

One of the bills that will be considered is a bill for \$4.5 billion to be sent to communities. This, I must confess, is better than the one that was introduced and heard in this committee, the Committee on Government Operations, several weeks ago, for \$55 billion.

Direct aid, of course, in communities, as pointed out by the sponsors, has dropped off between 1981 and 1989. And that is true. Federal assistance dropped from a high of \$22 billion in 1981 to \$17 billion in 1988. The figure, however, has risen in 1989, and we now send \$18.4 billion to direct aid to communities.

In 1990, State governments provided \$172 billion to 39,000 communities in this country. That includes some Federal passthroughs but not all of the \$18 billion in that category. Communities themselves collected \$3.89 billion from a variety of taxes and fees. When totaled, the communities in this country had more than \$580 billion at their disposal in 1990, \$580 billion.

This is a 9-percent increase over 1989, when the figure is \$532 billion.

Obviously, there is need and always a way to use more money. We could do things, undoubtedly, for people if we had more money to spend. There may be some question about management in cities. In New York, the mayor just recently signed a new deal with sanitation workers, I understand, breaking a tougher deal which would pay them \$40,000 a year to pick up garbage 4 days a week for 4 hours.

One might question that kind of expenditure, if one comes from Greybull, WY, and one is expected to send more money to New York to solve some of the problems there.

My point, Mr. Speaker, is that sending more money, particularly when we have none to send, is a questionable issue and one that we ought to examine in great detail.

I happen to think that Secretary Kemp has some notions that are probably more useful, that of creating jobs, that of creating incentives, that of creating investment, that of choice in schools so that workers can be skilled enough to undertake those jobs.

Mr. Speaker, we will be dealing with that question this week, I believe, in our committee, at least the Committee on Government Operations. I hope that we will look into it deeply, find a way to be helpful, find a way to change, find a way to fundamentally take a look at what we are doing and to weed out those things that have not been successful in the past, seek to find some ways that will indeed be successful in the future.

SHIPPING IS PICKING UP ON TENN-TOM WATERWAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. MONTGOMERY] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues an article that appeared in the June 1 edition of the Jackson, MS, Clarion-Ledger. It points out that shipping is up on the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway and there are some indications that the total tonnage levels may break all records on the waterway. Recreation activities along the Tenn-Tom are also well ahead of expectations.

The article was written by Mac Gordon, a member of the Clarion-Ledger's business section.

[From the Clarion-Ledger, June 1, 1992]

OFFICIALS LOOK FOR SHIPPING OVERFLOW ON TENN-TOM

(By Mac Gordon)

Shipping on the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway during 1992's first quarter may be the good omen officials have awaited since it opened in 1986.

"This year is starting out very good. We had a better first quarter than even in 1988 when we set our tonnage record," said Norm Connell, area engineer for the Columbus office of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

Increased shipping on the 224-mile waterway connecting the Ohio, Upper Mississippi

and Tennessee river systems with the Gulf of Mexico is considered a key element to further development of the state's Golden Triangle region.

Whether the waterway is a boon or boondoggle hasn't been definitively answered as yet, but area officials point out that it opened during the barge transport industry's worst slump ever and that the recession which followed has held all economic sectors back.

They also target the Tenn-Tom's youth:

"Remember that it is still a relatively young waterway. It was designed for a 50-year life and we're only seven years into that. Considering the recession we've been in, I think it is doing fine," Connell said.

"The waterway has been up and down, but I always tell people to be patient about it because it is an historic project and you couldn't expect overnight results," said Bill Boyd, executive director of the West Point-based North Mississippi Industrial Development Association.

"It continues to be a draw. We're working on several industrial projects now that have need of the waterway."

Low water levels on the Mississippi River in 1988 rerouted some barge traffic to the Tenn-Tom, helping to set the annual tonnage record of 9.9 million tons. The next three years produced loads in the 5 million ton range.

If this year's first-quarter results—1.523 million tons shipped—become a trend, totals could go above 6 million tons for the first time since 1988.

Coal transported from western Kentucky to an Alabama steam plant dominated Tenn-Tom shipping in its infancy, but the forest products industry has steadily taken over. The waterway region currently boasts of about 65 pulp and paper mills and 17 wood-related facilities are now in operation or proposed directly on the Tenn-Tom.

Recreation was another purpose of the waterway when conceived. Figures in that arena show "probably the most tangible short-term results of the Tenn-Tom," Boyd said. "You go out there on warm weekends in the spring and summer and it is very crowded with recreational traffic."

Connell said, "With recreation, we've exceeded projections and we are still in the throes of completing the initial recreational developments."

To date, 39 public use recreational arenas have been completed or are under contract. The \$50 million investment includes campgrounds, boat launches and parks.

Later this year, the Delta Queen steamboat, a tourist vessel that usually plies the nation's major river systems, will make a maiden voyage on the Tenn-Tom.

REFORM THE UNEMPLOYMENT SYSTEM TO PROMOTE ENTRE- PRENEURSHIP

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. WYDEN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. Speaker, later this week the House is going to consider H.R. 5260, the Unemployment Compensation Extension and Reform bill. H.R. 5260 would make important changes to repair this critical safety net which has been strained by more than a decade of neglect. With unemployment stubbornly sticking over 7

percent and more than 9 million Americans unemployed, clearly the Congress must extend unemployment benefits again and it must do so before the current extension expires on July 4.

But I believe Congress must go much further. Before this year is over, Congress should move to reform the unemployment insurance system to enable States to pursue more opportunities for the unemployed to start up their own small businesses and become self-sufficient. The idea that many unemployed might become successful small business owners may sound like an impossibility to many Members, but right now two States—Massachusetts and Washington—have shown that programs can create small business owners from the small business ranks. The Massachusetts program was created by Federal law that I authored in 1987. For the first time in our country's history, workers could use their unemployment checks to become entrepreneurs and start small businesses. They could use their weekly checks for something other than to just hang on and hope that things might get better.

□ 1410

The Washington program was created by a Department of Labor grant. Last week the subcommittee that I chair in the Committee on Small Business heard from these States and their promising results. The experience in Massachusetts and Washington makes a good case that Congress ought to allow all States to start similar programs with their unemployment system.

Using existing unemployment compensation funds, not new dollars, the participants in the Massachusetts program have created dozens of new small businesses. The Massachusetts program offered training and counseling, access to startup loans from a local bank, and a special break that allowed the program participants to collect their unemployment benefits while they were in the self-employment program. With all these services offered, and with program participants receiving unemployment benefits for 24 weeks, the self-employment program saved money in relation to the status quo. The entrepreneurs in this program collected 9 percent less in regular benefits than was the State average. They collected 60 percent less in Federal-State extended benefits, and they collected 45 percent less in the emergency extended benefits. Self-employment participants were twice as likely to start a business or find a job before the end of the benefit period as was the average unemployed person. The overall savings in Federal and State benefits averaged \$1,425 per participant. Even without counting the benefits to the State for the taxes and unemployment insurance contributions that were paid by the new businesses, the Massachusetts self-

employment program came out ahead. These are extraordinary results: Dozens of new businesses created, savings in the unemployment program, additional workers hired, and new taxes paid, all without spending additional funds.

The Washington program was designed a little bit differently from Massachusetts, but it offered the same training, the same counseling, the same sort of monitoring, and again, there were the impressive results. In Washington, dozens of new businesses were created, and those new businesses hired 123 additional workers at an average wage of \$9.22 an hour. The Washington program paid \$1.9 million in unemployment benefits to program participants, and in just a few months those participants have paid back \$1.2 million in the form of new wages to newly hired workers. Again, by any sort of calculation, this is an outstanding rate of return on a critical investment of unemployment insurance funds. By themselves, the Massachusetts and Washington programs demonstrate, in my view, that it is time for Congress to extend to all States the authority to create self-employment programs using existing unemployment insurance compensation dollars. But the true story of the successes that have been seen in Massachusetts and Washington goes way beyond the statistics, and it is seen in the lives of real people who saw their families turn around as a result of this opportunity.

Two small business owners testified before my subcommittee last week. Sandy Duncan of New Bedford, MA, lost her job last year when the company she worked for went bankrupt. Sandy is a single mother with two small children and a mortgage. She had 12 years of uninterrupted work experience, but in the Massachusetts economy, her prospects for finding a new job were slim. In the meantime, her weekly unemployment insurance benefit of \$283 did not even cover her fixed expenses. Chances are that if Massachusetts did not have a self-employment program, Mrs. Duncan would have exhausted her savings and lost her home. Instead, Mrs. Duncan entered the self-employment program and opened her 1-hour photo store called Photos & More. She has hired two other people, both of whom were also unemployed, and she hopes to open a second store within the next year.

Mrs. Duncan told my subcommittee, and I wish all the Members could have heard this, "I always thought I gave 110 percent to my employers, but now I am giving 150 percent to my own small business."

Mrs. Duncan's story is typical of many of the unemployed. She wants to work, she wants to succeed, but she got a bad break through no fault of her own, and if she had just a little bit of help, if the unemployment insurance

program and other programs were just a little more flexible, Mrs. Duncan, and in my view many Americans from coast to coast, could get back on their feet, and in many instances quickly.

However, if Mrs. Duncan had not been able to create her own job, chances are she would have stayed on unemployment insurance, exhausted her benefits, possibly lost her home, and many of the opportunities that were essential for her and her family.

There are other stories that I would hope that the Members would pay attention to in the days ahead. Paul Dionne, another unemployed Massachusetts worker, was a 25-year-old plumbing contractor who was laid off because of the recession. Again, Mr. Dionne received \$283 a month, just enough to cover expenses, in this case because his spouse was working. He wanted to start his own business, but thought he would not be able to, because of the work-search requirement and regulations that limit the amount of money an unemployed person can earn.

Fortunately, this gentleman was able to enter the self-employment program where he, too, received training in marketing and accounting and guidance in developing a business plan. More important, the fact that he was able to collect his unemployment compensation while remaining in the program enabled him to focus full time on his new business and to plough the revenue back into his company. Neither of these prospects would have been possible under the regular unemployment insurance program.

Mr. Dionne has hired two other people, and one of them was his father, a gentleman who was 55, unemployed, and given all the circumstances, Mr. Dionne's father was an individual who might not have been hired again. Now he, too, is paying wages, paying taxes, including taxes into the State unemployment insurance fund, and his business is bonded and successful. He plans to incorporate within a year and employ 8 to 10 people within the next 3 years.

These stories, Sandy Duncan's and Paul Dionne's, are remarkable, but across this country there are thousands of unemployed workers who could remake their lives like Sandy Duncan and Paul Dionne did, but who are prevented from doing so by outdated, unnecessary Federal regulations.

Congress ought to change the unemployment insurance system so that industrious, self-reliant Americans could become entrepreneurs. Unemployment insurance must do more than income maintenance. Unemployment insurance must become a program that uses existing funds to invest in the collective efforts of thousands of men and women like Sandy Duncan and Paul Dionne who want to start businesses, provide new jobs, and create wealth. By

freeing the unemployed to start their own small businesses, Congress could turn the unemployment insurance safety net into what one expert has called a trampoline, and as a result, many Americans would become self-sufficient for the long run.

□ 1420

Unfortunately, Federal employment regulations needlessly restrict would-be entrepreneurs among the unemployed by weighing them down with burdensome regulations. The unemployment system actively discourages enterprises, it discourages success. In many instances it says to people wait for a job, even wait for a job that may never appear. The unemployment system, I would say to my colleagues, is stuck in a time warp.

The evidence shows that this system, which was designed to meet the needs of workers in 1935, is not meeting the needs of unemployed workers in 1992. In 1935, most unemployed workers were eventually rehired by their old company, or at least they had a chance to be rehired in their old industry. But today the U.S. economy is undergoing dramatic changes, and it is far more likely that an unemployed worker will have to find a completely new job or a completely new field to work in. For many workers, the best option may be to start their own small businesses.

We know that there is a lot of interest in unemployed workers in being part of these programs. In Massachusetts and Washington the unemployment programs had to turn unemployed workers away. Both received calls from unemployed people across the country who hoped that they could participate. Both received calls from State governments that wanted to set up similar programs.

For the sake of those thousands of people who want and deserve a chance to get off unemployment and start their lives again as entrepreneurs, I would hope that before Congress adjourns this year, it will pass legislation to allow any State that chooses to set up a self-employment program.

When I introduced the legislation which created the Massachusetts program and was passed 5 years ago, there was opposition on two fronts. Some were concerned that the program would cost the unemployment insurance system money and waste funds that could be used on other unemployed workers. The record for Massachusetts and Washington now shows that this is not so. These programs saved money, and they saved money even without counting the secondary benefits.

Others were concerned that the program participants would be creating unfair subsidized competition to existing businesses. Again, this concern has been contradicted by the record of these programs. Few participants set

up companies that competed with their old employer. None received subsidies. Certainly \$283 a week to live on cannot be considered a subsidy. In fact, the programs actually helped existing businesses, because they saved them unemployment insurance tax payments, and in some instances the new companies were often valuable customers or suppliers. As a result, some business groups in Massachusetts actively support the self-employment program.

Mr. Speaker, Robert E. Friedman, chairman of the Corporation for Enterprise Development, is probably the father of self-employment programs in our country. He worked closely with me and my office to pass legislation 5 weeks ago that made possible the Massachusetts program, which for the first time allowed unemployment insurance checks to be used to let workers start small businesses. Mr. Friedman testified before the subcommittee last week, and he made a number of points that I think Congress should consider as we look at unemployment insurance compensation legislation again.

The first key point that Mr. Friedman made was that Congress should not overlook the value of cost-effective, simple programs. Congress will authorize nearly \$6 billion in spending over the next 5 years on a variety of unemployment changes. The Democratic task force is considering a \$9 billion program for the cities. Other Members are proposing a \$5.5 billion revenue-sharing program. There is no doubt in my mind that Congress needs to do more to address the needs of the unemployed in the cities, and so many who have suffered in this last decade.

New spending is going to be necessary, but I would hope that we would also recognize that success also comes from taking modest, practical steps. The fact that self-employment programs are a simple, straightforward and cost-effective way to get Americans back to work should not be a reason to devalue these programs.

New spending to repair the safety net will be necessary. But let us not leave this congressional session and pass up sensible, simple regulatory changes that can have a positive effect on people's lives and not spend any new money.

There is great cost if Congress delays on going forward with additional self-employment programs, because Congress is not extending self-employment programs in the unemployment compensation legislation at this time, and because the Federal Department of Labor has been unwilling to push for an extension of the two existing programs. The Washington self-employment program has already stopped bringing in new people and Massachusetts will have to stop accepting new participants in September.

There is a financial cost to delay because the record shows that self-em-

ployment programs save money to the unemployment insurance system. But more important, there are extraordinary human costs to delay. These are the costs of denying thousands of unemployed workers all across this country the chance to start their lives all over again and contribute to their communities as they pay taxes, as they hire workers, as they remake their lives.

The Government has been too slow in responding to the pressing needs of the victims of this recession. Last year's extension of emergency unemployment benefits was needlessly held up by political wrangling. This year there will probably be new fights over financing methods.

In the meantime, so many unemployed hang on, hoping that the Government eventually will put their needs first and allow them to use resources like those in the unemployment compensation system to get back to work. It is time to stop compounding the problem our unemployed workers face by enforcing outdated regulations that actively block the States from helping the unemployed get back on their feet. What the States need is maximum flexibility to design their own self-employment programs with the necessary safeguards and performance requirements to ensure that there is not waste or cost overruns, and that they are effective programs such as we have seen in Massachusetts and Washington. States should be free to match up their individual needs and their resources, and to join their unemployment insurance program with other State programs as appropriate.

Today I am introducing legislation to do just that. I would hope my colleagues would join me as cosponsors in the effort to put our citizens back to work. The unemployment insurance system has traditionally been run by the State. The money belongs to the States, and State governments are at least as accountable to the voters as the Federal Government. So why not also give States the freedom, as I propose, to use existing resources to create more jobs for the unemployed line?

In closing, I would like to point out that over 80 percent of the jobs created in our country are now created in companies with less than 20 workers. Self-employment rates generally rise during recessions when wage and salary employment drop as entrepreneurs, of necessity, try to get back on their feet. The Federal Government ought to be encouraging these thrifty, self-reliant, and industrious Americans instead of, as happens today, the Government throwing roadblocks in their path. If workers are successful at adapting to the many changes in the American economy, they will not need long-term public assistance. But if the Federal

unemployment insurance system remains locked in the old days, locked in the way business was done in 1935, our unemployment insurance system will fail too many workers and increase the burden on an already strained safety net.

□ 1430

The Massachusetts and Washington programs show great promise. Unfortunately some of those in the Federal agencies are saying, "Do not extend these programs yet. Let us study these programs with all deliberate bureaucratic speed," the way agencies do in so many instances.

But I think it is clear our country is going through hard times, and Congress should not sit around and wait for every single study from every single consultant, every single agency who might possibly have a new, tiny notion of why the Government ought to wait in extending self-employment to the unemployed. It is time to move now, and for the unemployed timber worker in Oregon, for the laid-off defense worker in California, for the unemployed auto worker in the Midwest, for the unemployed factory worker in new England, let us give them the opportunity to get back on their feet using unemployment compensation dollars.

I would close by saying that one of the unemployed workers put it best to me when he said, "The unemployment compensation system today, for me as a worker, is a little bit like economic methadone. They give me my check, I get it every month, but I cannot do anything to break out of the habit. I cannot have the opportunity to get back on my feet."

Let us now change the unemployment compensation system so it is in line with the 1990's, so our unemployed workers have a chance to get back on their feet and become entrepreneurs, become self-employed when they have the skills and the talents to do so.

OLD JOE CAMEL ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN MUST BE ENDED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MAZZOLI] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, tobacco, the growing, the processing, the marketing, the transportation of tobacco have been vitally important economically and for generations in my home State of Kentucky. For generations, Kentuckians, Louisvillians, Jefferson Countians, tens of thousands of these hard working, highly principled, decent, and honest people have earned their living and have raised their families and supported their churches and supported their communities on money earned from the various activities relating to tobacco.

Nevertheless, and in view of that important situation in my home State and with the greatest of respect to the people and to the tobacco industry, I have earlier today, and am today right now, asking that the RJR Nabisco Co. which manufactures Camel cigarettes, heed the request which was made in March by the Surgeon General of the United States, Antonia Novello, who requested then that RJR Nabisco discontinue its Old Joe Camel advertising campaign.

Today, in a letter which is cosigned by the gentleman from Kentucky, who is in the well now, along with his colleagues, the gentlewoman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER], the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. SYNAR], and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ATKINS], have also written the president, chairman, and chief executive officer of RJR Nabisco once again requesting that the Old Joe Camel advertising campaign be ended.

I would further ask that RJR Nabisco and the tobacco industry as a whole cease and desist from any advertising or any promotions which have the effect, even if inadvertent, of attracting young and impressionable children and adolescents into smoking or the use of smokeless tobaccos.

Mr. Speaker—and I will talk about this in a moment—the Journal of the American Medical Association in its December 11, 1991, issue, carried three articles, and I will be reading from those articles in a moment, dealing with this question of tobacco advertising and its propensity to make young children smoke. These published results establish, for me at least, a clear and persuasive connection between teenage, and even younger, smoking and tobacco industry advertising.

The American Medical Association Journal also cites evidence, which I will relate in a moment, that children recognize the Old Joe Camel logo more readily than adults do, and that these recognition rates of the Old Joe logo average over 50 percent for the very young children; and, when our children reach a certain age, they recognize Old Joe Camel as readily as they recognize the Disney Channel logo, and that, of course, should cause us all a certain amount of pause.

The most ardent industry advocate does not believe that the use of tobacco by youngsters is good or prudent or advisable and, therefore, Mr. Speaker, I would respectfully request again that RJR Nabisco voluntarily discontinue the Old Joe advertising campaign for Camel cigarettes.

Such a show on RJR Nabisco's part of community and health concerns would reflect credit on that corporation, reflect credit on the tobacco industry, and would set a standard of care, sensitivity, and awareness which, since RJR Nabisco is a leader in not just tobacco but throughout the corporate

community, would soon then become a standard for all industry.

Mr. Speaker, having laid the groundwork here, I would like to read from parts of the December 11, 1991, Journal of the American Medical Association reports on this question of tobacco and teenage smoking, of RJR Nabisco and the Camel advertising campaign featuring that cool character called Old Joe.

The first of the articles that I would read from is entitled, "Does Tobacco Advertising Target Young People to Start Smoking?" And this report is primarily based on a study in California. The objective of the study was to evaluate whether tobacco advertising encourages teenagers younger than 18 to start smoking. The results are these: The most advertised brands of cigarettes were Marlboro, according to 33-plus percent of the adults and 42 percent of the teenagers, and Camel, according to 13 percent of the adults and 28 percent of the teenagers, and it was named as the most often advertised brand by 12- to 13-year-olds at around 35 percent.

The conclusions of this study are these: The perception of advertising is higher among young smokers; market share patterns across age and sex groups follow the perceived advertising patterns, and changes in market share resulting from advertising occur mainly in younger smokers. "Cigarette advertising," according again to the AMA, "encourages youths to smoke and should be banned."

I further continue reading from the AMA study:

DOES TOBACCO ADVERTISING TARGET YOUNG PEOPLE TO START SMOKING?

Objective.—To evaluate whether tobacco advertising encourages teenagers younger than 18 years to start smoking.

Results.—The most advertised brands of cigarettes were Marlboro, according to 33.6% of adults and 41.8% of teenagers, and Camel, according to 13.7% of adults and 28.5% of teenagers—named most often by 12- to 13-year-olds (34.2%). The brands that were purchased most often were Marlboro and Camel. Together these were the brands of choice of 79.9% of males and 85% of females aged 12 through 17 years. Marlboro's market share increased in youths and young adults up to age 24 years and then decreased gradually with age; Camel's market share decreased abruptly with age: it was the brand of choice of 24.5% of males aged 12 through 17 years but was chosen by only 12.7% of males aged 18 through 24 years; for females, 21.7% aged 12 through 17 years chose Camels, while only 5.5% aged 18 through 24 preferred this brand. Both Marlboro and Camel brands had a higher market share in California in 1990 compared with that for the United States in 1986. Of interest in that the market share for Camel increased among the younger smokers but was more evenly distributed for Marlboro.

Conclusions.—Perception of advertising is higher among young smokers; market-share patterns across age and sex groups follow the perceived advertising patterns; and changes in the market share resulting from advertising occur mainly in younger smokers. Ciga-

rette advertising encourages youths to smoke and should be banned.

Cigarettes are one of the most heavily marketed consumer products in the United States. For nearly two decades, public health advocates and representatives of the tobacco industry have hotly debated whether cigarette advertising encourages children to start smoking. The central concern of the public health community is that the themes and images used in tobacco advertising are attractive to children and inspire them to experiment with smoking. The tobacco industry has argued that advertising is necessary for tobacco companies to maintain market shares of this legal product and has claimed that advertising by individual tobacco companies targets adults only and encourages regular smokers to switch brands or to maintain brand loyalty. Despite evidence that 90% of recent adult smokers started smoking regularly before the age of 18 years, both tobacco product manufacturers and representatives of the major association of advertisers have consistently denied that cigarette advertising targets adolescents or encourages them to smoke or to use other tobacco products.

We hypothesized that credible evidence against tobacco advertising would include (1) recent survey data that showed that heavily advertised tobacco brands were noticed more by minors than by older adults; (2) market share of the cigarette brands in minors that reflected the pattern of recognition of advertising; and (3) the market share of a cigarette brand that only recently has targeted young people has increased disproportionately in the young.

One brand that has undergone a major new advertising campaign is Camel. Camel cigarettes were first introduced in 1913 by RJ Reynolds and their advertising approach remained unchanged until 1988, with such themes as "Camel. Where a man belongs." However, in February 1988, RJR decided to update the Camel image and introduced the "smooth character" multimedia advertising campaign, which features a cartoon camel.

The "smooth character" is proving just how much a well-executed image blitz can do for a decrepit brand. The Tobacco Reporter also indicated how this campaign halted slumping sales, "contributing to a hefty 14 percent change in the brand's market share during 1990."

Several public health professionals have claimed that this advertising campaign targets children in particular.

In this article, we compare the performance of Camel with that of Marlboro, which has had the largest advertising budget for many years and has been the consistent market leader in recent times.

NAMING OF THE MOST ADVERTISED CIGARETTE BRAND

One-third (33.6%) of all adults (18 years old) identified Marlboro as the most advertised brand; Camel was identified by 13.7% of adults as the most advertised brand. Among teenagers (aged 12 through 17 years), 41.8% identified Marlboro and 28.5% identified Camel as the most advertised brand.

In each age group Marlboro was the brand most often named as the most advertised cigarette, and both Camel and Marlboro were named more often by adolescents than by adults. However, the youngest respondents (aged 12 through 13 years) most often named Camel as the most advertised brand, with 34.2% of this age group identifying Camel as the most advertised brand of cigarettes. Moreover, the percentage of respondents who named Camel steadily declined by age to

22.7% for 16-through 17-year-olds, 19.8% for 18- through 24-year-olds, and less than 10% for all respondents aged 45 years and older.

COMMENT

The data in this article add to the evidence that tobacco advertising differentially targets young people, particularly minors.

Some health professionals have suggested that the cartoon character advertising for the Camel brand preferentially targets and influences adolescents and even children. This impression is bolstered by the fact that RJR spent \$100 million in 1990 both on its advertising campaign and on promotional giveaways of items that are appealing to adolescents. Our data support these concerns. The greatest recognition of the Camel advertising campaign occurred in the youngest age group examined in this study (ages 12 through 13 years).

Not only was the perception of Camel advertising highest among 12- to 13-year-olds, but it was also particularly high among those adolescents who were at considerable risk of starting to smoke.

We conclude that tobacco advertising, particularly of Camel cigarettes, has been effective in targeting adolescents in the United States.

It was those in the 12- through 13-year age group who had the highest recall of the advertisements, and recall was particularly high among those who did not yet smoke but who were considering smoking.

Our results suggest that tobacco advertising is causally related to young people becoming addicted to cigarettes; the sum of this evidence is considerable although not yet complete. Also, there is strong evidence that most smokers become addicted when they are minors and do not understand the long-term consequences of smoking.

Given the potential harm to the health of future generations, public policy should, as a matter of urgency, extend the ban on tobacco advertising to cover not only electronic media but also all other forms of cigarette advertising and promotion.

[From the Journal of the American Medical Association, Dec. 11, 1991, Vol. 266, No. 22]

RJR NABISCO'S CARTOON CAMEL PROMOTES CAMEL CIGARETTES TO CHILDREN

Objectives.—To determine if RJR Nabisco's cartoon-theme advertising is more effective in promoting Camel cigarettes to children or to adults. To determine if children see, remember, and are influenced by cigarette advertising.

Results.—Children were more likely to report prior exposure to the Old Joe cartoon character (97.7% vs. 72.2%). Children were better able to identify the type of product being advertised (97.5% vs. 67.0%) and the Camel cigarette brand name (93.6% vs. 57.7%). Children also found the Camel cigarette advertisements more appealing. Camel's share of the illegal children's cigarette market segment has increased from 0.5% to 32.8%, representing sales estimated at \$476 million per year.

Conclusion.—Old Joe Camel cartoon advertisements are far more successful at marketing Camel cigarettes to children than to adults. This finding is consistent with tobacco industry documents that indicate that a major function of tobacco advertising is to promote and maintain tobacco addiction among children.

With the number of U.S. smokers declining by about 1 million each year, the tobacco industry's viability is critically dependent on its ability to recruit replacement smokers. Since children and teenagers constitute 90%

of all new smokers, their importance to the industry is obvious. Many experts are convinced that the industry is actively promoting nicotine addiction among youth.

Spokespersons for the tobacco industry assert that they do not advertise to people under 21 years of age, the sole purpose of their advertising being to promote brand switching and brand loyalty among adult smokers. However, industry advertising expenditures cannot be economically justified on this basis alone. This study was therefore undertaken to determine the relative impact of tobacco advertising on children and adults.

There is abundant evidence that tobacco advertising influences children's images of smoking.

Children as young as the age of 6 years can reliably recall tobacco advertisements and match personality sketches with the brands using that imagery. In fact, children who are most attuned to cigarette advertising have the most positive attitudes toward smoking, whether or not they already smoke.

Historically, one brand that children have not bought is Camel. In seven surveys, involving 3,400 smokers in the seventh through 12th grades, conducted between 1976 and 1988 in Georgia, Louisiana, and Minnesota, Camel was given as the preferred brand by less than 0.5%.

In 1986, Camels were most popular with smokers over the age of 65 years, of whom 4.4% chose Camels, and least popular among those 17 to 24 years of age, of whom, only 2.7% preferred Camels.

In 1988, RJR Nabisco launched the "smooth character" advertising campaign, featuring Old Joe, a cartoon camel modeled after James Bond and Don Johnson of Miami Vice.

To determine the relative impact of Camel's Old Joe cartoon advertising on children and adults, we, AMA, used four standard marketing measures. 1. Recognition. 2. Recall. 3. Appeal. 4. Brand preference.

MATERIALS

Seven Camel Old Joe cartoon character advertisements were obtained from popular magazines during the 3 years prior to the study. One ad was masked to hide all clues (except Old Joe) as to the product and brand being advertised.

PROCEDURE

Subjects were first shown the masked ad and asked if they had seen the Old Joe character before. They were then asked to identify the product being advertised and the brand of the product.

The subjects were then shown, one at a time, the six unmasked advertisements and asked to rate how the advertisements and the Old Joe cartoon character appealed to them.

RESULTS

Children were much more likely than adults to recognize Camel's Old Joe cartoon character (97.7% vs. 72.2%).

When shown the masked advertisement, the children were much more successful than the adults in identifying the product being advertised (97.5% vs. 67.0%) and the Camel brand name (93.6% vs. 57.7%).

On all four measures, the children found the Camel cartoon advertisements more appealing than did the adults. Children were more likely to think the advertisements looked "cool" or "interesting."

The brand preference data revealed a dramatic reversal in the market segment pattern that existed prior to Camel's Old Joe cartoon character campaign. Camel was given as the preferred brand by 32.8% of the

children up to the age of 18 years who smoked, 23.1% of Massachusetts adult smokers aged 19 and 20 years, and 8.7% of those 21 years of age and over.

Children were more likely to smoke if they believed that smoking is pleasurable and that it makes a person more popular and attractive—all common themes in cigarette advertising.

COMMENT

Our data demonstrate that in just 3 years Camel's Old Joe cartoon character had an astounding influence on children's smoking behavior. The proportion of smokers under 18 years of age who choose Camels has risen from 0.5% to 32.8%. Given that children under 18 years account for 3.3% of all cigarette sales, and given a national market share of 4.4% for Camel, we compute that Camel's adult market share is actually 3.4%. Given a current average price of 153.3 cents per pack, the illegal sale of Camel cigarettes to children under 18 years of age is estimated to have risen from \$6 million per year prior to the cartoon advertisements to \$476 million per year now, accounting for one quarter of all Camel sales.

From both a legal and moral perspective, it is important to determine if the tobacco industry is actively promoting nicotine addiction among youngsters. However, from a public health perspective it is irrelevant whether the effects of tobacco advertising on children are intentional. If tobacco advertising is a proximate cause of disease, it must be addressed accordingly.

Our data show that children are much more familiar with Camel's Old Joe cartoon character than are adults.

The industry targets poster advertisements for "key youth locations/meeting places in the proximity of theaters, records [sic] stores, video arcades, etc." It is common to see Old Joe poster advertisements in malls, an obvious gathering spot for young teens. Billboards, T-shirts, baseball caps, posters, candy cigarettes, and the sponsorship of televised sporting events and entertainment events such as the Camel "Mud and Monster" series are all used to promote Camels. All are effective marketing techniques for reaching children.

The fact that children are much more attracted to the themes used in the Old Joe cartoon character advertisements may also explain why they are more familiar with them.

Previous research makes it clear that children derive some of their positive images of smoking from advertising. Children who are aware of tobacco advertising, and those who approve of it, are also more likely to be smokers. Children's favorable attitudes toward smoking and advertising precede actual tobacco use and correlate with the child's intention to smoke, suggesting that the images children derive from advertising encourage them to smoke.

Since a child's intention to smoke is considered to be a good predictor of future smoking behavior, it seems reasonable to conclude that a belief in the psychological benefits of smoking, derived from advertising, precedes, and contributes to, the adoption of smoking.

The study found that for boys, "[t]he single most commonly voiced reason for quitting among those who had done so *** was sports." The tobacco industry's sponsorship of sporting events, such as the Camel Supercross motorcycle race, should be seen in relation to its need to discourage teenage boys from quitting.

Our study provides further evidence that tobacco advertising promotes and maintains

nicotine addiction among children and adolescents. A total ban of tobacco advertising and promotions, as part of an effort to protect children from the dangers of tobacco, can be based on sound scientific reasoning.

[Journal of the American Medical Association, Dec. 11, 1991, Vol. 266, No. 22]

BRAND LOGO RECOGNITION BY CHILDREN AGED 3 TO 6 YEARS

Objective.—Little is known about the influence of advertising on very young children. We, therefore, measured product logo recognition by subjects aged 3 to 6 years.

Results.—The children demonstrated high rates of logo recognition. When analyzed by product category, the level of recognition of cigarette logos was intermediate between children's and adult products. The recognition rates of The Disney Channel logo and Old Joe (the cartoon character promoting Camel cigarettes) were highest in their respective product categories. Recognition rates increased with age. Approximately 30% of 3-year-old children correctly matched Old Joe with a picture of a cigarette compared with 91.3% of 6-year-old children.

Conclusion.—Very young children see, understand, and remember advertising. Given the serious health consequences of smoking, the exposure of children to environmental tobacco advertising may represent an important health risk and should be studied further.

Several types of research have been used in the past decade to examine the association between cigarette advertising and rates of underage smoking.

Collectively, these studies provide compelling evidence that cigarette advertisements are seen by adolescents and that they respond to the advertisements' intent. Some health experts, therefore, now believe that cigarette advertising is casually linked to smoking behavior.

In contrast, the tobacco industry argues that cigarette advertising is not targeted to adolescents and that advertising does not increase the use of tobacco products. These companies claim that advertising and promotion are designed instead to produce brand switching by adults who already smoke. In 1988, the tobacco industry spent \$3.27 billion on cigarette advertising and promotions, making cigarettes the second most heavily advertised product in the United States. This level of advertising cannot be justified on the basis of brand switching alone, since only 10% of current smokers change brands within a given year.

There has been considerable speculation but little published research on the impact of advertising on very young children.

There is, however, some evidence that very young children understand advertising.

We studied the recognition level of 22 brand logos by children aged 3 to 6 years. Included were logos from two of the most heavily advertised cigarette brands: Camel and Marlboro.

METHODS

The study design was based on the well-accepted market research concept of advertisement recognition.

Recognition was measured by having the subjects match 22 logo cards to one of 12 products pictured on a game board.

RESULTS

Two hundred twenty-nine children were recruited. Subjects ranged in age from 3 to 6 years.

Each subject's parent was asked to report the number of hours of television watched per day by his or her child.

As would be expected, children had high recognition of the children's brand logos ranging from 91.7% for The Disney Channel to 25.3% for Cheerios.

Old Joe, the cartoon character promoting Camel cigarettes, had the highest recognition rate among the tested cigarette logos. More than half of the subjects correctly matched this figure with a picture of a cigarette. The other cigarette logos were correctly recognized at rates of 18.0% to 32.8%.

Cigarette logo recognition rates ranged from 11.4% (Camel) to 30.4% (Old Joe) for 3-year-old subjects. This rate increased to between 43.5% (Camel) and 91.3% (Old Joe) for children 6 years of age.

While the Disney Channel's logo recognition was higher for subjects aged 3, 4, and 5 years, this difference in recognition was not significant in subjects aged 6 years. In that age group, both the silhouette of Mickey Mouse and the face of Old Joe were nearly equally well recognized and correctly matched by almost all children.

COMMENT

Children are referred to by marketing researchers as "consumers in training." As stated by McNeal, "All of the skills, knowledge, and behavior patterns that together we call consumer behavior are purposely taught to our children right along with toilet training, toddling and talking."

Research has identified three distinct children's markets. First are the markets directly under the control of children.

The second market is for products in which children influence household purchasing decisions.

The third market is for products that children will consume when they become adolescents and adults. Market researchers believe that brand awareness created in childhood can be the basis for product preference later in life.

This potential influence has raised concern about the exposure of children to cigarette advertising. For instance, it has been suggested that children receive positive messages about smoking when they view cigarette advertisements and that this may influence later decisions to smoke.

The children in this study demonstrated high recognition rates of brand logos for products that are targeted to both children and adults.

It is no surprise that most children can properly match the McDonald's arches to a hamburger. It is also not surprising that there is high recognition of the Chevrolet and Ford logos. Automobiles are heavily advertised on television, and many children are exposed to these brands through personal family use. In contrast, the high recognition rate of cigarette logos may be counterintuitive. After all, cigarette advertising no longer appears on television and very young children cannot read. Yet by the age of 6 years, Old Joe is as well recognized as Mickey Mouse.

Children's knowledge of cigarette brand logos is most likely the result of their exposure to "environmental tobacco advertising." Camel and Marlboro brand advertising is ubiquitous, appearing in movies, on billboards, promotional displays at youth-oriented events, on television during sporting events, and on "line extenders," such as T-shirts, posters, and caps.

It is obviously impossible to predict how the exposure of children to environmental tobacco advertising might influence their later smoking behavior. While cigarette companies claim that they do not intend to market to children, their intentions are ir-

relevant if advertising affects what children know. R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company is as effective as The Disney Channel in reaching 6-year-old children. Given this fact and the known health consequences of smoking, cigarette advertising may be an important health risk for children.

□ 1500

Mr. Speaker, I will conclude at this point by reminding those who have been listening to or observing these proceedings, that what I was reading for the last few minutes was from three studies published on December 11, 1991, in the Journal of the American Medical Association.

These studies may be refutable, they may be impeachable, they may be on shaky scientific and demographic grounds, and they could possibly be challenged, and successfully, whether within the industry or outside the industry. However, Mr. Speaker, they are important. They were published, they are advanced by a reputable organization which is devoted to improving the health of this Nation and the public health of the world, and I think they ought to be studied very carefully.

I go back to where I began today in my first words in my 1-minute speech, and that is that four of us, the gentleman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER], the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. SYNAR], the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. ATKINS] and the gentleman from Kentucky now in the well, myself, Mr. MAZZOLI, jointly sent a letter to R.J.R. Nabisco today requesting that it discontinue voluntarily the Old Joe advertising campaign for Camel cigarettes. That same request has been made many, many times and, very recently, by Surgeon General Antonia Novella on March 9 of this year.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that R.J.R. Nabisco will do this. I think it will be evidence on its part that it recognizes social responsibility and that there may be some credible evidence that smoking and youth are mixed together because of attractive advertising campaigns. If R.J.R. Nabisco were to drop the campaign, of course it would reflect very well on the tobacco industry going an extra, an unmandated, mile to do the right thing, and furthermore it would certainly reflect well upon the corporate community since R.J.R. Nabisco is a leader in that community.

For our children's sake, Mr. Speaker, I hope that Old Joe Camel is retired.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD the materials I referred to.

[Journal of the American Medical Association, Dec. 11, 1991, Vol. 266, No. 22]
DOES TOBACCO ADVERTISING TARGET YOUNG PEOPLE TO START SMOKING?

(By John P. Pierce, PhD; Elizabeth Gilpin, MS; David M. Burns, MD; Elizabeth Whalen, MA; Bradley Rosbrook, MS; Donald Shopland; Michael Johnson, PhD)

Objective.—To evaluate whether tobacco advertising encourages teenagers younger than 18 years to start smoking.

Design.—Comparison of 1990 California telephone survey data with data from a 1986 national telephone survey (both used a random-digit dialing system); 95% confidence intervals were calculated. To test our hypothesis, we considered whether the perception of advertising was related to age, whether the pattern of market share across age and sex groups followed the pattern of perceived advertising, and whether changes in market share paralleled changes in advertising as perceived by the youngest age group.

Participants.—There were 24,296 adults and 5,040 teenagers.

Results.—The most advertised brands of cigarettes were Marlboro, according to 33.6% of adults and 41.8% of teenagers, and Camel, according to 13.7% of adults and 28.5% of teenagers—named most often by 12- to 13-year-olds (34.2%). The brands that were purchased most often were Marlboro and Camel. Together these were the brands of choice of 79.9% of males and 85% of females aged 12 through 17 years. Marlboro's market share increased in youths and young adults up to age 24 years and then decreased gradually with age; Camel's market share decreased abruptly with age: it was the brand of choice of 24.5%±5.8% of males aged 12 through 17 years but was chosen by only 12.7%±3.6% of males aged 18 through 24 years; for females, 21.7%±13.7% aged 12 through 17 years chose Camels, while only 5.5%±3.2% aged 18 through 24 years preferred this brand. Both Marlboro and Camel brands had a higher market share in California in 1990 compared with that for the United States in 1986. Of interest is that the market share for Camel increased among the younger smokers but was more evenly distributed for Marlboro.

Conclusions.—Perception of advertising is higher among young smokers; market-share patterns across age and sex groups follow the perceived advertising patterns; and changes in market share resulting from advertising occur mainly in younger smokers. Cigarette advertising encourages youth to smoke and should be banned.

Cigarettes are one of the most heavily marketed consumer products in the United States. For nearly two decades, public health advocates and representatives of the tobacco industry have hotly debated whether cigarette advertising encourages children to start smoking. The central concern of the public health community is that the themes and images used in tobacco advertising are attractive to children and inspire them to experiment with smoking which is highly addictive. The tobacco industry has argued that advertising is necessary for tobacco companies to maintain market shares of this legal product and has claimed that advertising by individual tobacco companies targets adults only and encourages regular smokers to switch brands or to maintain brand loyalty. Despite evidence that 90% of recent adult smokers started smoking regularly before the age of 18 years, both tobacco product manufacturers and representatives of the major association of advertisers have consistently denied that cigarette advertising targets adolescents or encourages them to smoke or to use other tobacco products.

The effects of tobacco advertising have become increasingly important and relevant issues, as can be seen by recent events in Canada. In that country, public health advocates successfully used the argument that advertising promotes smoking by minors to convince the national legislature to ban all tobacco advertising. The tobacco industry appealed, and in the first round of appeal, the

judge overturned the law (although the law remains in effect pending the next round of appeal). This judicial decision was based on acceptance of the tobacco industry's argument on the purpose of its advertising. This decision demonstrates the need to document further the evidence that tobacco advertising does target young people to smoke.

We hypothesized that credible evidence against tobacco advertising would include (1) recent survey data that showed that heavily advertised tobacco brands were noticed more by minors than by older adults; (2) market share of cigarette brands in minors that reflected the pattern of recognition of advertising; and (3) the market share of a cigarette brand that only recently has targeted young people has increased disproportionately in the young. To address this third issue, it would be important to choose a brand for which there has been a major new advertising campaign in recent years and compare its performance with a brand that has been heavily advertised for years.

One brand that has undergone a major new advertising campaign is Camel. Camel cigarettes were first introduced in 1913 by RJ Reynolds (RJR), and their advertising approach remained unchanged until 1988, with such themes as "Camel. Where a man belongs." However, in February 1988, RJR decided to update the Camel image and introduced the "smooth character" multimedia advertising campaign, which features a cartoon camel. It has been claimed that, since the introduction of this campaign in 1988, "the character has reversed the fortunes of Camel cigarettes, now the No. 6 brand in the \$40 billion market" and that the "smooth character is proving just how much a well-executed image blitz can do for a decrepit brand." The Tobacco Reporter also indicated how this campaign halted slumping sales, "contributing to a hefty 14 percent change in the brand's market share during 1990."

Several public health professionals have claimed that this advertising campaign targets children in particular. Even within the tobacco industry, one hears some suggestions that the new Camel campaign does just that. Bird quotes a "source close to Marlboro" as having said: "When you see teenage boys—people the cigarette companies aren't supposed to be targeting in the first place—going crazy for this guy [the cartoon camel], you know they're [RJR] hitting their target." The RJR company has countered by claiming that "Camel smokers are principally white males over the age of 21 years."

Camel is a brand that has undergone a change in its marketing strategy from one clearly targeted at adult men to one that is now accused of aiming its heavy advertising at minors. In this article, we compare the performance of Camel with that of Marlboro, which has had the largest advertising budget for many years and has been the consistent market leader in recent times. We present evidence that Camel and Marlboro cigarettes are perceived by minors as being heavily advertised; that minors when compared with adults differentially smoke heavily advertised brands; and that the market share of minors and young adults has increased disproportionately for Camel cigarettes compared with Marlboro over the past 5 years.

METHODS

Data Sources

In 1990, the California Department of Health commissioned a series of California Tobacco Surveys (CTS). Herein we report data from in-depth telephone interviews of 24,296 adults and 5,040 teenagers. These interviews were obtained after a stratified

Waksberg random-digit dialing method was used to screen 32 × 135 households to recruit participants (J. Waksberg, unpublished data, December 17, 1984).

Response Rates and Survey Methods

All adult smokers and former smokers who had quit within the last 5 years were interviewed; a random 28% of all other adults were interviewed. The survey team interviewed all adolescents between the ages of 12 and 17 years in the screened households. The response rates were 75.3% and 78.4% for the adult and teenage surveys, respectively. The aforementioned sampling probabilities were used as part of the design effect to develop an initial weighting formula to provide population estimates. Poststratification weighting ensured that the sample was representative of the state population by age, sex, county-region, education, and race-ethnicity.

We compared data from the CTS with data collected in a similarly designed national survey, the Adult Use of Tobacco Survey (AUTS). The AUTS was a national sample of 13,031 adults older than 17 years. The response rates for the AUTS and for the in-depth surveys were 85.5% and 86.9%, respectively. Poststratification weighting was undertaken in this survey to ensure that the population was representative of the adult population of the United States by age, sex, education, and race-ethnicity.

Definitions of Smoking Status

The definitions of current smoking were those standards that are used in all national surveys in the United States. Adults were asked whether they had smoked 100 cigarettes in their lifetime and whether they smoked now. Former smokers were those who had smoked 100 cigarettes but did not currently smoke, and those who smoked fewer than 100 cigarettes were considered to have never smoked. Teenagers were classified as current smokers if they reported smoking a cigarette within the previous 30 days. We further classified teenagers who were not current smokers as follows: respondents who had smoked (but not within the 30-day time frame) were considered to have experimented with smoking or to be former smokers; those who had never smoked but indicated that they might smoke in the future were categorized as adolescents contemplating smoking; and, finally, teenagers who said they would never smoke were placed in a "never" category.

Survey Questions

In both the adult and the teenage CTS, information on brand smoked was obtained by asking current smokers, "What brand do you usually buy?" In the 1986 AUTS, current smokers were asked, "What brand of cigarette do you usually smoke now?" In the 1990 CTS, all respondents were asked the following question about cigarette advertising: "Think back to the cigarette advertisements you have recently seen on billboards or in magazines. What brand of cigarette was advertised the most?"

Calculation of Confidence Intervals (CIs)

For all percentages in the figures and tables, we have provided 95% CIs. In the CTS, these were derived by a variant of the jackknife procedure, in which 33 subsamples were taken from the full survey file, and sample weights were computed according to the same procedure as for the full sample. Variances were estimated on the basis of the deviations of the subsample percentages and the percentage for the full sample. The variances were then used to compute the 95%

CIs on the basis of the critical value from Student's *t* distribution. For the 1986 data, a design effect (1.5), which represents the cost in lack of precision for choosing a sampling design other than a simple random sample, published with the survey results, was used to inflate the initial variance, which was computed as if the study sample were a simple random sample.

RESULTS

Naming of the Most Advertised Cigarette Brand

One third (33.6%) of all adults (18 years old) identified Marlboro as the most advertised brand; Camel was identified by 13.7% of adults as the most advertised brand. Among teenagers (aged 12 through 17 years), 41.8% identified Marlboro and 28.5% identified Camel as the most advertised brand. No more than 3% of either the adult or teenage respondents named any other single brand.

In each age group (except the youngest, in which the 95% CIs overlapped), Marlboro was the brand most often named as the most advertised cigarette, and both Camel and Marlboro were named more often by adolescents than by adults. However, the pattern of recognition for Marlboro advertising across age groups was somewhat different from the pattern for Camel advertising. The percentage who named Marlboro as being the most advertised increased with age among adolescents, peaking at 48.1% among the 16- through 17-year-old age group before declining among adults. However, the youngest respondents (aged 12 through 13 years) most often named Camel as the most advertised brand, with 34.2% of this age group identifying Camel as the most advertised brand of cigarettes. Moreover, the percentage of respondents who named Camel steadily declined by age to 22.7% for 16- through 17-year-olds, 19.8% for 18- through 24-year-olds, and less than 10% for all respondents aged 45 years and older.

Identification of Brand in Adolescents by Smoking Status and Sex

Among teenagers, the brand that was named the most advertised varied by smoking status among boys and girls. Among boys who had smoked in the month before the survey, 56.7% named Marlboro and 28.4% named Camel (95% CIs did not overlap). Among boys who had never smoked but who were contemplating smoking, 44.5% identified Marlboro and 36.7% identified Camel as the most advertised. Thus, Marlboro was most frequently named the most advertised brand in all male adolescent groups; more than 40% of all boys named it, and the current smokers named it more often than did respondents from the other groups. Camel cigarettes were named particularly often by boys who were contemplating starting to smoke (about 36%), although 95% CIs for the different smoking status groups overlapped.

Among girls, Marlboro was identified as the most advertised brand by more than one-third of each smoking status group. As among boys, girls who reported some experience with smoking were the ones who most often named Marlboro. In all but one group (95% CIs did not overlap), Camel cigarettes were named less frequently than Marlboro; among the group of teenage girls who were contemplating starting to smoke, the percentage who identified Camel as the most advertised brand (35%) was slightly higher (95% CIs overlapped) than the percentage who identified Marlboro.

Reported Preference for Cigarette Brands, California 1990

The pattern of cigarette brands purchased by California smokers paralleled the reported perception of advertising.

Marlboro and Camel dominated the adolescent male market: 79.9% of the 12- through 17-year-old male smokers reported purchasing these brands. The market share controlled by the two brands declined steadily with the increasing age of the smoker: 84% of the 18- through 24-year-old market; 75.5%

of the 25- through 29-year-old market; and 58.2% of the 30- through 44-year-old market. In contrast to a relatively gradual decline in market share across the different age groups for Marlboro, the decline in Camel's market share occurred abruptly between adolescent and adult groups. Market share decreased from 24.5% among male adolescents to about 12% among men between the ages of 18 and 44 years; 95% CIs between the teenage and first adult group did not overlap.

The market-share pattern for females for Marlboro and Camel was somewhat similar to that for males. The two brands shared 85% of the adolescent female market and 74.9% of the 18- through 24-year-old market; the market share again declined rapidly with age. Marlboro was the most often purchased brand: 63.3% of teenage female smokers and 69.4% of 18- through 24-year-old female smokers reported purchasing that brand. For Camel, the step-function decline in the postadolescent market share was even more dramatic among female smokers than among male smokers. Camel cigarettes reached a market share of 21.7% in 12- through 17-year-old girls who smoked; market share then decreased to under 6% in all older age groups (95% CIs barely overlapped.)

Increases in Camel Market Share Between 1986 and 1990

We examined whether the preference for Camel cigarettes by California smokers in 1990 was recent by comparing the brand preference of California smokers in 1990 to the preferences of all US smokers in 1986. Rate ratios compare the percentage of California smokers who bought Camel and Marlboro in 1990 with the percentage of US smokers who bought these two brands in 1986. The rate ratios greater than 1 indicate that the percentage of smokers who reported purchasing these brands of cigarettes was considerably higher in California in 1990 than it was in the United States in 1986 in each age and sex group. Rate ratios are given separately for three age groups and for males and females.

TABLE 1.—BRANDS PURCHASED BY SMOKERS IN CALIFORNIA

| Age, y ² | Brand purchased, percent ¹ | | | Sample size, n |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| | Marlboro | Camel | Other | |
| Males: | | | | |
| 12 to 17 | 55.4±12.6 | 24.5±8.0 | 18.0±13.4 | 131 |
| 18 to 24 | 71.3±5.1 | 12.7±3.6 | 16.0±4.5 | 567 |
| 25 to 29 | 61.7±7.6 | 13.8±5.9 | 24.5±5.8 | 470 |
| 30 to 44 | 47.7±2.9 | 10.5±2.1 | 41.8±3.3 | 1579 |
| More than 45 | 21.1±2.7 | 8.1±2.8 | 70.8±3.3 | 1316 |
| Females: | | | | |
| 12 to 17 | 83.3±15.7 | 21.7±13.7 | 13.4±9.6 | 102 |
| 18 to 24 | 69.4±7.1 | 5.5±3.2 | 25.1±7.3 | 461 |
| 25 to 29 | 49.5±7.2 | 3.6±2.5 | 46.9±8.3 | 467 |
| 30 to 44 | 33.0±4.0 | 2.3±0.9 | 64.7±4.2 | 1500 |
| More than 45 | 12.7±3.1 | 2.2±1.2 | 85.1±3.6 | 1594 |

¹ Numbers given are percentages ±95% confidence intervals.

² In the youngest age group of both sexes, a small percentage did not purchase cigarettes but obtained them by other means.

TABLE 2.—DIFFERENCES IN MARLBORO AND CAMEL BRANDS PURCHASED BY SMOKERS IN CALIFORNIA IN 1990 COMPARED WITH SMOKERS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1986

| Age, y | Market share ¹ | | | | Rate ratio | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|----------|------|----------|------------|-------|
| | 1986 | | 1990 | | Marlboro | Camel |
| | n | | n | | | |
| Males: | | | | | | |
| 18 to 29 | 571 | 49.6±5.2 | 1037 | 66.8±5.0 | 1.4 | 2.3 |
| 30 to 44 | 950 | 26.4±3.8 | 1579 | 47.7±2.9 | 1.8 | 1.5 |
| More than 45 | 799 | 11.7±2.8 | 1316 | 21.1±2.7 | 1.8 | 1.2 |
| Females: | | | | | | |
| 18 to 29 | 619 | 39.4±4.9 | 928 | 59.0±4.8 | 1.5 | 4.5 |
| 30 to 44 | 830 | 17.0±3.2 | 1500 | 33.0±4.0 | 1.9 | 2.3 |
| More than 45 | 879 | 4.5±1.7 | 1594 | 12.7±3.1 | 2.8 | 1.5 |

¹ Numbers given are percentages ±95% confidence intervals.

The market share for Marlboro was 40% to 80% higher among males in California in 1990 compared with 1986 US data. The market-share increase for Camel was 230% in the

youngest age group and was 50% and 20% in the two older age groups. The proportionate increases in market share of both brands were higher among females than among

males for all age groups. Among females, the Camel brand had a low market base in 1986. The percentage of female smokers between the ages of 18 and 29 years who purchased

Camel cigarettes in California in 1990 was 450% higher than that for the country as a whole in 1986.

In both males and females, Marlboro's rate ratio increased somewhat consistently across age groups. However, this was not the case for Camel: the major source of Camel's market-share increase appears to have come from the younger smokers.

COMMENT

The data in this article add to the evidence that tobacco advertising differentially targets young people, particularly minors. We have considered some expected consequences should tobacco advertising target minors: first, the perception of the advertising would be inversely related to age; second, the pattern of market share across age and sex groups would follow the pattern of the perceived advertising; and third, changes in market share caused by increased targeting of advertising would occur differentially in the youngest age groups.

In California in 1990, people generally perceived Marlboro to be the most advertised brand of cigarettes, followed by Camel. These two brands were named most advertised by 70% of adolescents and 47% of adults. Some health professionals have suggested that the cartoon character advertising for the Camel brands preferentially targets and influences adolescents and even children.¹⁸ This impression is bolstered by the fact that RJR spent \$100 million in 1990 both on its advertising campaign and on promotional giveaways of items that are appealing to adolescents. Our data support these concerns. The greatest recognition of the Camel advertising campaign occurred in the youngest age group examined in this study (ages 12 through 13 years). Indeed, the level of recognition was inversely related to the age of the subject. This nearly linear inverse trend was not demonstrated with all cigarette advertising, as evidenced by our results for Marlboro. While Marlboro has enormous recognition as the most advertised brand in all age groups, peak recognition occurred at ages 16 through 17 years. Not only was the perception of Camel advertising highest among 12- to 13-year-olds, but it was also particularly high among those adolescents who were at considerable risk of starting to smoke. Although there is an electronic-media ban on tobacco advertising, tobacco companies have devised other means to promote their products to minors.

Marlboro and Camel had the largest market shares of all cigarette brands in California in 1990. This was particularly the case in young smokers; these two brands had 80% of the market share among 12- through 17-year-old smokers and 84% among 18- through 24-year-old smokers. The pattern of market share for both brands was the same as the pattern for recognition of the advertising. In both males and females, the proportion of smokers who reported smoking Camel cigarettes decreased with age. Furthermore, the market share for Camel among 12- through 17-year-old boys was almost twice that among 18- to 24-year-old men. Similarly, the market share for Camel in 12- through 17-year-old girls was many times higher than in the next highest age group (18 through 24 years). The peak market share for Marlboro was in the 18- and 24-year-old age group for both males and females, and the age pattern of the market share was similar to the age pattern for identification of Marlboro as the most advertised brand. Thus, the pattern of market share for each brand is different and appears to mirror the pattern of recall of advertising for that particular brand.

A final purpose of our analysis was to relate changes in the market share of Camel compared with Marlboro since the start of the new smooth character Camel campaign. We were particularly interested in determining whether the estimated change in market share for the Camel brand occurred in the younger age groups to which the advertising appears to be targeted. Unfortunately, the data that we had for this assessment were less than optimal; the only brand data that we had available were for the whole nation in 1986 compared with California only in 1990. In addition, the 1986 data set included adults only (18 years and older) and so did not include the majority of teenagers. Accordingly, we examined the ratio of change across adult age groups between the Camel and Marlboro brands. We hypothesized that if Camel advertising more effectively targets young people than does Marlboro advertising, then the increase in market share for Camel will disproportionately come from the younger age groups compared with the pattern of increase in market share for Marlboro.

The market share for both Marlboro and Camel appears to have increased between 1986 and 1990. The market share for Marlboro appears to have increased more in those older than 30 years than in those younger than 30 years in both men and women. In contrast, the market share for the Camel has shown a marked increase among men and women younger than 30 years than among those older than 30 years.

We conclude that tobacco advertising, particularly of Camel cigarettes, has been effective in targeting adolescents in the United States, (indeed, the 1990 CTS were undertaken during a major antismoking advertising campaign in California, so our results may actually underestimate the problem.) It was those in the 12- through 13-year age group who had the highest recall of the advertisements, and recall was particularly high among those who did not yet smoke but who were considering smoking. These advertisements appear to influence these prospective new smokers to start smoking the brand that is advertised. Our data suggest an association between the brands identified as most highly advertised and market share for the same brands. Not only is the market share of brands similar to recall of the most advertised brands, but the brand that appears to be aimed the most at adolescents has demonstrated a differential increase in market share in the youngest adolescents over time. Resolving this issue will require a longitudinal study, which we hope to undertake in the near future.

Our results suggest that tobacco advertising is causally related to young people becoming addicted to cigarettes; the sum of this evidence is considerable although not yet complete. Also, there is strong evidence that most smokers become addicted when they are minors and do not understand the long-term consequences of smoking. Overcoming this addiction is a lifelong struggle for many smokers, and the failure rate for cessation attempts is extremely high. Unless those responsible for protecting our young take action quickly, the declines that we have seen recently in the proportion of our youngsters who start to smoke may be in jeopardy. Given the potential harm to the health of future generations, public policy should, as a matter of urgency, extend the ban on tobacco advertising to cover not only electronic media but also all other forms of cigarette advertising and promotion.

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Health Services, Tobacco Control Section, Sacramento.

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RJR NABISCO'S CARTOON CAMEL PROMOTES CAMEL CIGARETTES TO CHILDREN

(By Joseph R. DiFranza, MD; John W. Richards, Jr. MD; Paul M. Paulman, MD; Nancy Wolf-Gillespie, MA; Christopher Fletcher, MD; Robert D. Jaffe, MD; David Murray, PhD)

Objectives.—To determine if RJR Nabisco's cartoon-theme advertising is more effective in promoting Camel cigarettes to children or to adults. To determine if children see, remember, and are influenced by cigarette advertising.

Design.—Use of four standard marketing measures to compare the effects of Camel's Old Joe cartoon advertising on children and adults.

Subjects.—High school students, grades 9 through 12, from five regions of the United States, and adults, aged 21 years and over, from Massachusetts.

Outcome Measures.—Recognition of Camel's Old Joe cartoon character, product and brand name recall, brand preference, appeal of advertising themes.

Results.—Children were more likely to report prior exposure to the Old Joe cartoon character (97.7% vs 72.2%, $P<.0001$). Children were better able to identify the type of product being advertised (97.5% vs 67.0% $P<.0001$) and the Camel cigarette brand name (93.6% vs 57.7%; $P<.0001$). Children also found the Camel cigarette advertisements more appealing ($P<.0001$). Camel's share of the illegal children's cigarette market segment has increased from 0.5% to 32.8%, representing sales estimated at \$476 million per year.

Conclusion.—Old Joe Camel cartoon advertisements are far more successful at marketing Camel cigarettes to children than to adults. This finding is consistent with tobacco industry documents that indicate that a major function of tobacco advertising is to promote and maintain tobacco addiction among children.

With the number of US smokers declining by about 1 million each year, the tobacco industry's viability is critically dependent on its ability to recruit replacement smokers. Since children and teenagers constitute 90% of all new smokers, their importance to the industry is obvious. Many experts are convinced that the industry is actively promoting nicotine addiction among youth.

Spokespersons for the tobacco industry assert that they do not advertise to people under 21 years of age, the sole purpose of their advertising being to promote brand switching and brand loyalty among adult smokers. However, industry advertising expenditures cannot be economically justified on this basis alone. This study was therefore undertaken to determine the relative impact of tobacco advertising on children and adults.

There is abundant evidence that tobacco advertising influences children's images of smoking. In Britain, the proportion of children who gave "looks tough" as a reason for smoking declined after tough images were banned from cigarette advertisements. Children as young as the age of 6 years can reliably recall tobacco advertisements and match personality sketches with the brands using that imagery. In fact, cigarette advertising establishes such imagery among children who are cognitively too immature to understand the purpose of advertising. Subsequently, children who are most attuned to

cigarette advertising have the most positive attitudes toward smoking, whether or not they already smoke. Children who are more aware of, or who approve of, cigarette advertisements are more likely to smoke, and those who do smoke but the most heavily advertised brands.

Historically, one brand that children have not bought is Camel. In seven surveys, involving 3,400 smokers in the seventh through 12th grades, conducted between 1976 and 1988 in Georgia, Louisiana, and Minnesota, Camel was given as the preferred brand by less than 0.5% (Saundra MacD. Hunter, PhD, Weihang Bao, PhD, Larry S. Webber, PhD, and Gerald S. Berenson, MD, unpublished data, 1991; D.M., unpublished data, 1991). In 1986, Camels were most popular with smokers over the age of 65 years, of whom 4.4% chose Camels, and least popular among those 17 to 24 years of age, of whom only 2.7% preferred Camels.

In 1988, RJR Nabisco launched the "smooth character" advertising campaign, featuring Old Joe, a cartoon camel modeled after James Bond and Don Johnson of Miami Vice. Many industry analysts believe that the goal of this campaign is to reposition Camel to compete with Philip Morris' Marlboro brand for the illegal children's market segment. To determine the relative impact of Camel's Old Joe cartoon advertising on children and adults, we used four standard marketing measures.

1. Recognition. We compared the proportions of teenagers and adults aged 21 years and over who recognize Camel's Old Joe cartoon character.

2. Recall. We compared the ability of teenagers and adults to recall from a masked Old Joe advertisement the type of product being advertised and the brand name.

3. Appeal. We compared how interesting and appealing a series of Old Joe cartoon character advertisements were to teenagers and adults.

4. Brand preference. We compared brand preferences of teenaged smokers prior to the Old Joe cartoon character campaign with those 3 years into the campaign to determine if the campaign had been more effective with children or with adults, and to determine if Camel had been repositioned as a children's brand.

METHODS

Subjects

Since adolescent brand preferences may vary from one geographic location to another (Saundra MacD. Hunter, PhD, Weihang Bao, PhD, Larry S. Webber, PhD, and Gerald S. Berenson, MD, unpublished data, 1991; D.M., unpublished data, 1991), we selected children from Georgia, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Washington, representing five regions. One school in each state was selected based on its administration's willingness to participate. Schools with a smoking prevention program focused on tobacco advertising were excluded.

A target of 60 students in each grade, 9 through 12, from each school was set. In large schools, classes were selected to obtain a sample representative of all levels of academic ability. Students were told that the study concerned advertising and were invited to participate anonymously.

Since adult brand preferences are available from national surveys, adult subjects were recruited only at the Massachusetts site. All drivers, regardless of age, who were renewing their licenses at the Registry of Motor Vehicles on the days of the study during the 1990-1991 school year were asked to participate. Since licenses must be renewed in person, this is a heterogeneous population.

Materials

Seven Camel Old Joe cartoon character advertisements were obtained from popular magazines during the 3 years prior to the study. One ad was masked to hide all clues (except Old Joe) as to the product and brand being advertised.

The survey instrument collected demographic information and information on past and present use of tobacco, including brand preference. Children were considered to be smokers if they had smoked one or more cigarettes during the previous week. Previously validated questions were used to determine children's intentions regarding smoking in the next month and year and their attitudes toward the advertised social benefits of smoking.

Subjects rated the ads as "cool or stupid" and "interesting or boring." Subjects were asked if they thought Old Joe was "cool" and if they would like to be friends with him. Each positive response to these four questions was scored as a one, a negative response as a zero. The "appeal score" was the arithmetic sum of the responses to these four questions, with the lowest possible score per respondent being a zero and the highest a four.

Procedure

Subjects were first shown the masked ad and asked if they had seen the Old Joe character before. They were then asked to identify the product being advertised and the brand name of the product. Subjects who could not answer these questions were required to respond "Don't know" so they would not be able to write in the correct answer when the unmasked advertisements were shown. The subjects were then shown, one at a time, the six unmasked advertisements and asked to rate how the advertisements and the Old Joe cartoon character appealed to them. Subjects then completed the remainder of the survey instrument.

Adolescent brand preference data from this study were compared with the data obtained by seven surveys completed prior to the kickoff of Camel's Old Joe cartoon character campaign early in 1988 (Saundra MacD. Hunter, PhD, Weihang Bao, PhD, Larry S. Webber, PhD, and Gerald S. Berenson, MD, unpublished data, 1991; D.M., unpublished data, 1991).

Tests of significance were made using the Two-tailed Student's *t* Test for continuous data and the χ^2 and Fisher's Exact Test for discrete data. A *P* value of less than .05 was used to define statistical significance.

The study was conducted during the 1990-1991 school year.

RESULTS

A total of 1060 students and 491 subjects from the Registry of Motor Vehicles were asked to participate. Usable surveys were obtained from 1055 students (99%) and 415 license renewal applicants (84.5%). Seventy drivers were under 21 years of age, leaving 345 adults aged 21 years or older. Students ranged in age from 12 to 19 years (mean, 15.99 years) and adults from 21 to 87 years (mean, 40.47 years). Females represented 51.0% of the students and 54.8% of the adults.

Children were much more likely than adults to recognize Camel's Old Joe cartoon character (97.7% vs 72.2%; *P* < .0001). It is not plausible that the children were simply saying they had seen Old Joe when they had not, since they also demonstrated a greater familiarity with the advertisement on the two objective measures.

When shown the masked advertisement, the children were much more successful than

the adults in identifying the product being advertised (97.5% vs 67.0%; *P* < .0001) and the Camel brand name (93.6% vs 57.7%; *P* < .0001). Even when the analysis was limited to those subjects who were familiar with the Old Joe cartoon character, children were still more likely than adults to remember the product (98.6% vs 89.6%; *P* < .0001) and the Camel brand name (95.0% vs 79.1%; *P* < .0001). This confirms that Old Joe cartoon advertisements are more effective at communicating product and brand name information to children than to adults.

Because Massachusetts adults may not be representative of adults in the other four states where children were surveyed, the above analyses were repeated comparing only Massachusetts children and adults. In all cases the differences between adults and children were significant and of even greater magnitude (*P* < .0001), excluding the possibility that the above findings were due to a lighter level of advertising exposure in the Massachusetts area.

On all four measures, the children found the Camel cartoon advertisements more appealing than did the adults. Children were more likely to think the advertisements looked "cool" (58.0% vs 39.9%; *P* < .0001) or "interesting" (73.6% vs 55.1%; *P* < .0001). More of the children thought Old Joe was "cool" (43.0% vs 25.7%; *P* < .0001) and wanted to be friends with him (35.0% vs 14.4%; *P* < .0001).

The brand preference data revealed a dramatic reversal in the market segment pattern that existed prior to Camel's Old Joe cartoon character campaign. Camel was given as the preferred brand by 32.8% of children up to the age of 18 years who smoked, 23.1% of Massachusetts adult smokers aged 19 and 20 years, and 8.7% of those 21 years of age and over. The figures for the Massachusetts adults were significantly higher than the national market share for Camel, 4.4%, suggesting that Massachusetts adults may be more familiar with the Old Joe Camel campaign than adults in general. Camel cigarettes are now most popular with children and progressively less popular with older smokers.

About equal proportions of adults (28.2%) and children (29.0%) reported some current cigarette use, making it unlikely that this factor influenced any of the above findings. Although there were some statistically significant differences in the responses of children from different regions, these were not the focus of this study.

When compared with nonsmokers, children who were currently smoking gave higher approval ratings to the advertisements (mean approval score of 2.8 for smokers vs 1.8 for nonsmokers; *P* < .0001). Approving attitudes toward cigarette advertisements seem to precede actual smoking. Among the non-smoking children, those who either were ambivalent about their future smoking intentions or expressed a definite intention to smoke were more approving of the advertisement than those children who intended not to smoke (mean approval scores of 2.6 and 1.8, respectively; *P* < .0001).

Children were more likely to smoke if they believed that smoking is pleasurable (relative risk [RR], 6.6; *P* < .0001) and that it makes a person more popular (RR, 2.0; *P* < .0001), and attractive (RR, 2.5; *P* < .0001), all common themes in cigarette advertising. Among nonsmoking children, those who believed that smoking would make them more attractive were eight times more likely to express an intention to smoke in the next year (*P* < .0001).

COMMENT

Our data demonstrate that in just 3 years Camel's Old Joe cartoon character had an as-

tounding influence on children's smoking behavior. The proportion of smokers under 18 years of age who choose Camels has risen from 0.5% to 32.8%. Given that children under 18 years account for 3.3% of all cigarette sales, and given a national market share of 4.4% for Camel, we compute that Camel's adult market share is actually 3.4%. Given a current average price of 153.3 cents per pack, the illegal sale of Camel cigarettes to children under 18 years of age is estimated to have risen from \$6 million per year prior to the cartoon advertisements to \$476 million per year now, accounting for one quarter of all Camel sales.

From both a legal and moral perspective, it is important to determine if the tobacco industry is actively promoting nicotine addiction among youngsters. However, from a public health perspective it is irrelevant whether the effects to tobacco advertising on children are intentional. If tobacco advertising is a proximate cause of disease, it must be addressed accordingly. In the following discussion we will examine the evidence produced by this study, the marketing practices of the tobacco industry as a whole as revealed in industry documents, and the marketing practices used by RJR Nabisco, in particular, to promote Camel cigarettes. The quotations cited below are from tobacco industry personnel and from documents obtained during litigation over Canada's ban of tobacco advertising.

Our data show that children are much more familiar with Camel's Old Joe cartoon character than are adults. This may be because children have more exposure to these advertisements, or because the advertisements are inherently more appealing to youngsters. The tobacco industry has long followed a policy of preferentially placing selected advertisements where children are most likely to see them. For example, print advertisements are placed in magazines "specifically designed to reach young people." Paid cigarette brand promotions appear in dozens of teen movies. Camels are featured in the Walt Disney movies "Who Framed Roger Rabbit?" and "Honey I Shrunk the Kids."

The industry targets poster advertisements for "key youth locations/meeting places in the proximity of theaters, records [sic] stores, video arcades, etc. It is common to see Old Joe poster advertisements in malls, an obvious gathering spot for young teens. Billboards, T-shirts, baseball caps, posters, candy cigarettes, and the sponsorship of televised sporting events and entertainment events such as the Camel "Mud and Monster" series are all used to promote Camels. All are effective marketing techniques for reaching children.

The fact that children are much more attracted to the themes used in the Old Joe cartoon character advertisements may also explain why they are more familiar with them. The themes used in tobacco advertising that is targeted at children are the result of extensive research on children conducted by the tobacco industry to "learn everything there was to learn about how smoking begins. Their research identifies the major psychological vulnerabilities of children, which can then be exploited by advertising to foster and maintain nicotine addiction.

The marketing plan for "Export A" cigarettes describes their "psychological benefits": "Export smokers will be perceived as *** characterized by their self-confidence, strength of character and individuality which makes them popular and admired by their peers."

Consider a child's vulnerability to peer pressure. According to one industry study, "The goading and taunting that exists at the age of 11 or 12 to get nonsmokers to start smoking is virtually gone from the peer group circles by 16 or 17." If peer influence is virtually gone by the age of 16 years, who is the intended target group for RJR-MacDonald's Tempo brand, described as individuals who are "[e]xtremely influenced by their peer group"? (RJR-MacDonald is a wholly owned subsidiary of RJR Nabisco). The recommended strategy for promoting this brand is the "[m]ajor usage of imagery which portrays the positive social appeal of peer group acceptance." In one Camel advertisement, a cowboy (a Marlboro smoker?) is being denied admission to a party because "only smooth characters [i.e., Camel smokers] need apply". It appears that Camel advertisements are also targeted at individuals who are influenced by their peer group.

Children use tobacco, quite simply, because they believe the benefits outweigh the risks. To the insecure child, the benefits are the "psychological benefits" promised in tobacco advertisements: confidence, an improved image, and popularity. Children who believe that smoking will make them more popular or more attractive are up to 4.7 times more likely to smoke.

Previous research makes it clear that children derive some of their positive images of smoking from advertising. Children who are aware of tobacco advertising, and those who approve of it, are also more likely to be smokers. Children's favorable attitudes toward smoking and advertising precede actual tobacco use and correlate with the child's intention to smoke, suggesting that the images children derive from advertising encourage them to smoke. Our data confirm these earlier findings. Among nonsmoking children, those who were more approving of the Old Joe advertisements were more likely either to be ambivalent about their smoking intentions or to express a definite intention to smoke. Nonsmoking children who believed that smoking would make them more popular were eight times more likely to express an intention to smoke in the future.

Since a child's intention to smoke is considered to be a good predictor of future smoking behavior, it seems reasonable to conclude that a belief in the psychological benefits of smoking, derived from advertising, precedes, and contributes to the adoption of smoking.

There are other lines of evidence indicating that tobacco advertising increases the number of children who use tobacco. In countries where advertising has been totally banned or severely restricted, the percentage of young people who smoke has decreased more rapidly than in countries where tobacco promotion has been less restricted. After a 24-year decline in smokeless tobacco sales, an aggressive youth-oriented marketing campaign has been followed by what has been termed "an epidemic" of smokeless tobacco use among children, with the average age for new users being 10 years.

Many of the tobacco industry documents cited above provide abundant evidence that one purpose of tobacco advertising is to addict children to tobacco. In the words of one advertising consultant, "Where I worked we were trying very hard to influence kids who were 14 to start to smoke." Two marketing strategy documents for Export A also reveal that it is the youngest children they are after. "Whose behavior are we trying to affect? new users." The goal is "[o]ptimizing product and user imagery of Export 'A'

against young starter smokers." The average age for starter smokers is 13 years.

The industry also researches the best ways of keeping children from quitting once they are "hooked on smoking." The purpose of one tobacco industry study was to assess the feasibility of marketing low-tar brands to teens as an alternative to quitting. The study found that for boys, "[t]he single most commonly voiced reason for quitting among those who had done so *** was sports." The tobacco industry's sponsorship of sporting events, such as the Camel Supercross motorcycle race, should be seen in relation to its need to discourage teenage boys from quitting. Similarly, its emphasis on slimmness serves as a constant reinforcement of teenage girls' fears of gaining weight as a result of quitting.

Our study provides further evidence that tobacco advertising promotes and maintains nicotine addiction among children and adolescents. A total ban of tobacco advertising and promotions, as part of an effort to protect children from the dangers of tobacco, can be based on sound scientific reasoning.

[Journal of the American Medical Association—Dec. 11, 1991, Vol. 266, No. 22]
BRAND LOGO RECOGNITION BY CHILDREN AGED 3 TO 6 YEARS

(By Paul M. Fischer, MD; Meyer P. Schwartz, MD; John W. Richards, Jr, MD; Adam O. Goldstein, MD; Tina H. Rojas)

Objective.—Little is known about the influence of advertising on very young children. We, therefore, measured product logo recognition by subjects aged 3 to 6 years.

Design.—Children were instructed to match logos with one of 12 products pictured on a game board. Twenty-two logos were tested, including those representing children's products, adult products, and those for two popular cigarette brands (Camel and Marlboro).

Setting.—Preschools in Augusta and Atlanta, Ga.

Participants.—A convenience sample of 229 children attending preschool.

Results.—The children demonstrated high rates of logo recognition. When analyzed by product category, the level of recognition of cigarette logos was intermediate between children's and adult products. The recognition rates of The Disney Channel logo and Old Joe (the cartoon character promoting Camel cigarettes) were highest in their respective product categories. Recognition rates increased with age. Approximately 30% of 3-year-old children correctly matched Old Joe with a picture of a cigarette compared with 91.3% of 6-year-old children.

Conclusion.—Very young children see, understand, and remember advertising. Given the serious health consequences of smoking, the exposure of children to environmental tobacco advertising may represent an important health risk and should be studied further.

Several types of research have been used in the past decade to examine the association between cigarette advertising and rates of underage smoking. These studies have included econometric modeling, the measurement of advertisement recognition, and experimental studies of adolescents' reactions to advertisement imagery. In one recent study of teenagers, the self-perceived influence of cigarette advertising had the strongest and most consistent effect on the initiation of smoking among a group of variables that included parental smoking, sibling smoking, peer influence, and intention to smoke. Collectively, these studies provide

compelling evidence that cigarette advertisements are seen by adolescents and that they respond to the advertisements' intent. Some health experts, therefore, now believe that cigarette advertising is causally linked to smoking behavior.

In contrast, the tobacco industry argues that cigarette advertising is not targeted to adolescents and that advertising does not increase the use of tobacco products. These companies claim that advertising and promotion are designed instead to produce brand switching by adults who already smoke. In 1988, the tobacco industry spent \$3.27 billion on cigarette advertising and promotions, making cigarettes the second most heavily advertised product in the United States. This level of advertising cannot be justified on the basis of brand switching alone, since only 10% of current smokers change brands within a given year.

There has been considerable speculation but little published research on the impact of advertising on very young children. Typical survey methods are generally unreliable when conducting research involving this age group since children have limited verbal skills and, therefore, cannot articulate concepts that they may understand. There is, however, some evidence that very young children understand advertising. Donahue et al used nonverbal measures (i.e., picture games) to study young children's knowledge of television commercials. They concluded that by 3 years of age, children understand both the intent of television commercials and the sophisticated concept of audience segmentation (i.e., that advertisements are targeted to specific groups).

We studied the recognition level of 22 brand logos by children aged 3 to 6 years. Included were logos from two of the most heavily advertised cigarette brands: Camel and Marlboro.

METHODS

The study design was based on the well-accepted market research concept of advertisement recognition. Recognition of an advertisement indicates that it has been both seen and remembered.

Twenty-two brand logos were collected from a variety of printed sources including advertisements and product packaging. These included the logos of 10 products that are, in part, targeted to children, five logos representing two cigarette brands, and seven logos of products primarily targeted to adults (Table). No logos had specific image or word clues that might indicate what kind of product the brand represented (e.g., the "Marlboro man" was not smoking). One of the current Surgeon General's warnings ("Quitting Smoking Now Greatly Reduces Serious Risks to Your Health") as it appears on printed advertisements was also included as a test item.

Recognition was measured by having the subjects match 22 logo cards to one of 12 products pictured on a game board (Table). Product position on the board was made by random assignment and was not varied between subjects.

TABLE 1.—LOGOS TESTED.¹ CORRECT PRODUCT RESPONSE, AND RECOGNITION RATES FOR 229 SUBJECTS AGED 3 TO 6 YEARS

| Product category and logo | Correct product response | Recognition rate (percent) |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Children's brands: | | |
| Disney Channel | Mickey Mouse | 91.7 |
| "McDonald's" | Hamburger | 81.7 |
| "Burger King" | Hamburger | 79.9 |
| "Domino's Pizza" | Pizza | 78.2 |
| "Coca Cola" | Glass of cola | 76.0 |

TABLE 1.—LOGOS TESTED.¹ CORRECT PRODUCT RESPONSE, AND RECOGNITION RATES FOR 229 SUBJECTS AGED 3 TO 6 YEARS—Continued

| Product category and logo | Correct product response | Recognition rate (percent) |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| "Pepsi" | Glass of cola | 68.6 |
| "Nike" | Athletic shoe | 56.8 |
| "Walt Disney" | Mickey Mouse | 48.9 |
| "Kellogg's" | Bowl of cereal | 38.0 |
| "Cheerios" | Bowl of cereal | 25.3 |
| Cigarette brands: | | |
| Old Joe | Cigarette | 51.1 |
| "Marlboro" and red roof | Cigarette | 32.8 |
| Marlboro man | Cigarette | 27.9 |
| Camel and pyramids | Cigarette | 27.1 |
| "Camel" | Cigarette | 18.0 |
| Adult brands: | | |
| "Chevrolet" | Automobile | 54.1 |
| "Ford" | Automobile | 52.8 |
| Apple | Computer | 29.3 |
| "CBS" | Television | 23.1 |
| "NBC" | Television | 21.0 |
| "Kodak" | Camera | 17.9 |
| "IBM" | Computer | 16.2 |
| Surgeon General's warning | Cigarette | 10.0 |

¹ Quotation marks on the logo indicate that the brand name is part of the test item.

Subjects were recruited from 10 preschools in Augusta and Atlanta, GA. The schools were selected in an attempt to balance the sample for race and socioeconomic variables. Each subject's parent signed a parental consent form and completed a short questionnaire about the child's age, gender, race, number of hours of television watched each day, frequency with which the child requested specific brands, number of years of parental education, and the use of cigarettes in the subject's home.

On the following day, each child was individually tested in a quiet, separate area of his or her classroom. It was explained to the child that he or she would play a game matching cards with products. Each of the 12 products on the game board was then named. A demonstration of matching was done with a sample logo card. The child was then given a test card to match. After the child placed the card on the board (whether correct or incorrect), the child was told, "That's good." No other feedback or encouragement was given. Following each match, the card was removed from the board and the child was presented with the next card. The cards were randomized for each subject to prevent bias due to the order of presentation.

Responses were graded as either correct (grade of 1) or incorrect (grade of 0), and a score was derived by summing the binary values assigned to each logo. Subscores were calculated for each product type (i.e., children's brands, cigarette brands, or adult brands), which were then transformed into a recognition rate score based on the percentage of correct matches for that type of product and for the products overall. These were then compared with data from the parental questionnaire. Analyses using the χ^2 test were used to test for independence between categorical variables. The McNemar Test was used to test for the significance of change in correct responses between two logos (The Disney Channel and Old Joe). A correlation analysis was used to test for association of recognition rates by age. A multifactor analysis of variance was used to test the significance of the survey variables and the recognition of logos.

RESULTS

Two hundred twenty-nine children were recruited. Subjects ranged in age from 3 to 6 years. Seventy-nine were 3 years of age (34.5%), 67 were 4 years of age (29.3%), 60 were 5 years of age (26.2%), and 23 were 6 years of age (10.0%). One hundred twenty-three (53.7%) were boys. One hundred sixty-six (72.5%) were white and 63 (27.5%) were black.

Of the subjects' parents, 67 (29.3%) had less than 12 years of education, 123 (53.7%) had 12 to 16 years of education, and 39 (17.0%) had more than 16 years of education. Many subjects (34.1%) came from homes where at least one person smoked.

Each subject's parent was asked to report the number of hours of television watched per day by his or her child. One hundred eight (47.2%) of the subjects watched up to 2 hours per day, 100 (43.7%) watched 2 to 4 hours, and 21 (9.2%) watched 4 or more hours per day.

The parents were also asked to rate how often their child requested specific product brands, measured with a four-item Likert scale. Thirty-seven parents (16.2%) reported almost always, 106 (46.3%) reported often, 79 (34.5%) reported infrequently, and seven (3.1%) reported never. Unexpectedly, χ^2 analysis revealed no association of more frequent brand requests among older children. Fifty-two percent of 3-year-old children, 73% of 4-year-old children, 63% of 5-year-old children, and 65% of 6-year-old children often or almost always requested specific brands ($P=10$).

The mean logo recognition rates for all subjects are shown in the Table. As would be expected, children had high recognition of the children's brand logos ranging from 91.7% for The Disney Channel to 25.3% for Cheerios. Random guessing alone would produce a recognition rate of 8.3% (i.e., one of 12 items).

Old Joe, the cartoon character promoting Camel cigarettes, had the highest recognition rate among the tested cigarette logos. More than half of the subjects correctly matched this figure with a picture of a cigarette. The other cigarette logos were correctly recognized at rates of 18.0% to 32.8%. The logos for adult products were recognized by 16.2% to 54.1% of subjects, with automobile brand logos having the highest recognition rates.

Logo recognition was highly associated with the subject's age. Figure 1 shows mean recognition rates by age for each of the three product categories. This association of increased recognition with older age was significant for children's products ($\chi^2=51$; $P<.0001$), cigarette brands ($\chi^2=52$; $P<.0001$), and adult brands ($\chi^2=50$; $P<.0001$).

Cigarette logo recognition rates ranged from 11.4% (Camel) to 30.4% (Old Joe) for 3-year-old subjects. This rate increased to between 43.5% (Camel) and 91.3% (Old Joe) for children 6 years of age.

Figure 2 compares the recognition rates for The Disney Channel and Old Joe by subject age. These two were the most highly recognized logos in their respective product categories. While The Disney Channel's logo recognition was higher for subjects aged 3, 4, and 5 years, this difference in recognition was not significant in subjects aged 6 years. In that age group, both the silhouette of Mickey Mouse and the face of Old Joe were nearly equally well recognized and correctly matched by almost all children.

Neither race nor gender was associated with the recognition scores of any of the three product categories. A multifactor analysis of variance that included each of the other survey variables showed that the hours of television watched were positively associated with the recognition of children's product logos ($F_{(2,198)}=10.1$; $P<.0001$) and adult logos ($F_{(2,198)}=4.41$; $P=.01$), but not with cigarette logos. Parental education was positively associated with the recognition of adult product logos ($F_{(2,198)}=6.14$; $P=.002$), but not with children's products or cigarettes.

The recognition of cigarette logos was independent of the use of cigarettes in the subjects' homes.

Only 23 (10.0%) of the subjects matched the Surgeon General's warning with the picture of a cigarette. The recognition rate for the warning in subjects aged 3, 4, and 5 years was only 8.4%, a rate nearly equal to that expected for random guessing.

COMMENT

Children are referred to by marketing researchers as "consumers in training." As stated by McNeal, "All of the skills, knowledge, and behavior patterns that together we call consumer behavior are purposely taught to our children right along with toilet training, toddling and talking."

Research has identified three distinct children's markets. First are the markets directly under the control of children. Children aged 5 to 12 years spend \$4.2 billion of their own money each year. By age 6 years, half of all children regularly go shopping by themselves.

The second market is for products in which children influence household purchasing decisions. Children influence the spending of \$131 billion each year, including \$82 billion for food and beverages, \$17 billion for leisure activities and products, and \$13 billion for apparel (Business Week, September 9, 1991:94).

The third market is for products that children will consume when they become adolescents and adults. Market researchers believe that brand awareness created in childhood can be the basis for product preference later in life. It has been shown that children prefer the brands that they see advertised. This effect has been shown to even influence their preference of products that they are too young to use, such as lipstick and diet soft drinks. This potential influence has raised concern about the exposure of children to cigarette advertising. For instance, it has been suggested that children receive positive messages about smoking when they view cigarette advertisements and that this may influence later decisions to smoke.

The children in this study demonstrated high recognition rates of brand logos for products that are targeted to both children and adults. It is no surprise that most children can properly match the McDonald's arches to a hamburger. It is also not surprising that there is high recognition of the Chevrolet and Ford logos. Automobiles are heavily advertised on television, and many children are exposed to these brands through personal family use. In contrast, the high recognition rate of cigarette logos may be counterintuitive. After all, cigarette advertising no longer appears on television and very young children cannot read. Yet by the age of 6 years, Old Joe is as well recognized as Mickey Mouse.

Children's knowledge of cigarette brand logos is most likely the result of their exposure to "environmental tobacco advertising." Camel and Marlboro brand advertising is ubiquitous, appearing in movies, on billboards, promotional displays at youth-oriented events, on television during sporting events, and on "line extenders," such as T-shirts, posters, and caps. In addition to this paid advertising, Camel and Marlboro brand logos appear on video arcade games, children's toys, and candy products (Washington Post, March 13, 1990:sectA:8).

There are several limitations to the current study. First, the subjects were a convenience sample and, therefore, did not include children cared for at home. While the sample does represent children from families

with a range of ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds, it is unknown how the sampling method might have influenced the study results. The study design relied on the ability of children to match cards picturing brand logos to products on a game board. This is a novel design that has face validity, but which would be difficult to validate in any other way. Finally, there is some obvious arbitrariness to the selection of specific logos as test items. The choice of children's products was based on published data describing children's markets. Heavily advertised cigarette brands were tested. Adult brands were chosen from among those products that are primarily targeted to consumers who are older than the study subjects. Of all the brands tested, only the manufacturers of cigarettes specifically claim not to advertise to children.

It is obviously impossible to predict how the exposure of children to environmental tobacco advertising might influence their later smoking behavior. While cigarette companies claim that they do not intend to market to children, their intentions are irrelevant if advertising affects what children know. R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company is as effective as the Disney Channel in reaching 6-year-old children. Given this fact and the known health consequences of smoking, cigarette advertising may be an important health risk for children.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, DC, June 1, 1992.

Mr. LOUIS V. GERSTNER, Jr.,
Chairman/President/C.E.O., R.J. Nabisco Holdings Corp., 1301 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY.

DEAR MR. GERSTNER: We are writing concerning a study published in the December, 1991 issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA) which concludes that there is a close connection between teenage smoking habits and tobacco industry advertising.

In our view, this JAMA study of the R.J. Nabisco Company's "Old Joe" advertising campaign for Camel cigarettes establishes that the cigarette brand preferences of young people are directly linked to tobacco advertising. It concludes that advertising promoted by the tobacco industry, whether intended or not, can and does encourage smoking among young people.

Since no one suggests smoking is good for the health or well-being of children, it would follow that any practice or activity which encourages smoking among children does them no benefit and should be discontinued.

We respectfully urge R.J. Nabisco Company to comply with the March 9, 1992 request of Surgeon General Novello and voluntarily end the "Old Joe" advertising campaign for Camel cigarettes. Terminating this advertising campaign would demonstrate R.J. Nabisco's concern for the health and well-being of the children of America.

Your consideration is appreciated. We look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

ROMANO L. MAZZOLI,
CHESTER G. ATKINS,
MIKE SYNAR,
PATRICIA SCHROEDER,
Members of Congress.

PERMISSION TO FILE PRIVILEGED REPORT ON H.R. 5006, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1993

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Commit-

tee on Rules have until midnight tonight to file a privileged report on H.R. 5006, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HUTTO). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

SUNDRY MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. McCathran, one of his secretaries.

PLACING BLAME FOR THE BUDGET DEFICIT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, it is a subject about which both sides of the aisle are in rare agreement. We all think the budget deficit is a terrible thing, which it is.

How bad is it?

Well, as somebody pointed out, let us use the comparison most favored by the man most responsible, Ronald Reagan. He used to rail about the national debt. I remember him calling a \$52 billion deficit extremely dangerous.

Ronald Reagan used to point out that if you stack \$1,000 bills 4 inches high, you have got \$1 million. Well, try stacking them 254 miles high. That gives you \$3.8 trillion in deficit.

As the Atlanta Constitution put it the other day, that towering pile of bills is perhaps the single most powerful and troubling symbol of our national political bankruptcy.

The tragedy of the deficit is not one that developed over a long time, as is commonly perceived in this country. Since 1980 we rolled up more debt than all those administrations from George Washington to Jimmy Carter combined.

Just servicing the debt takes the income taxes of all Americans west of the Mississippi, \$315 billion, the largest single item in the budget.

So there is no question that this is an enormous problem. From 1950 to 1980 Washington borrowed less than 10 percent of our national savings. There was plenty available for companies to invest in their futures and America's future. A lot of investment went on in all parts of our country, from the industrial heartland of the East and Northwest States, to the Midwest, to the blossoming Western States, California, Washington, and Oregon, to the emergence of our Sun Belt States. A lot of investment went on during this 30-year period, from 1950 to 1980.

Now the deficit sucks up two-thirds of our private savings. It was 10 per-

cent between 1950 and 1980, and now two-thirds of our private savings. Of course, that just accelerates or boosts interest rates and makes it difficult for investment and productivity in the future. It robs us of our ability to invest in research and development. It slows up job creation.

Well, who is responsible for this mess? I do not want to suggest it is the result of one man.

It is a little like the story of two men in an airplane with a broken air-conditioning system. After an hour one turns to the other and says, "Whoa, one of our deodorants isn't working."

"It must be yours," says the second. "I don't use any."

In Washington people are always trying to duck blame. I might add that it is outside of Washington, too. You can see this in State legislatures, you can see this in town halls, you can see this in city villages. You can see this in community neighborhood meetings. People do not like to take the blame.

When it comes to the deficit, everybody gets to share some of the blame, Congress, the Executive, interest groups of our constituencies. But two people, I think it is fair to say, get most of it, Ronald Reagan and George Bush. Because by now it is clear the explosion of debt beginning with the first Reagan administration was not any accident. It came directly out of those huge defense increases and Laffer-curve cuts that he thought were the great achievement of his administration.

Do you remember those days? Remember when he tried to tell Americans we would grow our way out of the deficit? "This is an administration committed to a balanced budget, and we will fight to achieve it by 1985," Ronald Reagan said. That was in 1981 he said that.

For the past 12 years he and President Bush have repeatedly called for a balanced budget amendment. The fact is though that in these same 12 years they failed to present even one balanced budget to the Congress. Not one.

Meanwhile, Congress has been approving budgets that are less than the Reagan-Bush administrations have asked for. They are not balanced, but less than what the administrations have asked for.

Even so, the deficit has even gotten more and more out of hand. So I understand the impulse to do something rather drastic.

Yet the move now to pass a radical quick-fix budget amendment is, I think, a classic example of throwing the baby out with the bath water. It will not make things better. It is going to make things worse.

It is going to do it in four ways. First, it would require draconian spending cuts and massive—and I want to emphasize the word "massive"—massive tax increases.

Let us not kid anybody here. Our colleague from California, Mr. PANETTA, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Budget, has for the last few years, and particularly the last several weeks, laid out the facts in a very detailed way.

The gentleman from California [Mr. PANETTA] made these points: The Draconian amendment that we will be considering next week would take \$560 billion in spending cuts, tax increases, or both; \$560 billion.

It would mean deep cuts in Medicare, Social Security, and veterans health care. It would probably mean sharp increases in corporate and individual income taxes. There is a good chance it might mean the creation of a national sales tax.

Are we willing to cut spending for highways, for airports, for rural development, for aid to schools and libraries, for college tuition?

We are discussing right now in several rooms in this very Capitol an urban package, it is for areas of the country that are economically depressed, whether they are urban or rural areas.

We have serious, serious structural problems in our economy today, exemplified by the hopelessness exhibited in many of our urban areas. It is not just Los Angeles, or Atlanta, but throughout the country.

Do we want to eliminate the space program, close prisons, close hospitals, and cut back on public transportation. This is a time when we need to have a work force second to none to compete with the giants—or mini-giants—of Asia, Korea, Singapore, Japan, Taiwan, and the emerging unified economic system in Western Europe, the European Community. Are we willing to eliminate the basic tools which will educate our people to be competitive so we can face that challenge in the West and in the East? What tools are they? The math and science programs, where our students are falling further, and further, and further behind.

After a weekend where nine people were shot to death in this city alone, do we want to cut police protection and cut law enforcement by 100 percent?

At a time when our cities need help, do we want to slash programs to keep kids off the streets? Do we want to slash the meager job training programs that we have?

We have a generation of predominantly young males, but not necessarily so, in our urban areas, between 17 and 30 years of age, who need basic training so they can get work. Do we want to cut off whatever is left of the training programs for them, let alone expand them?

We are talking about enterprise zones right now in this Capitol, to provide opportunity in these urban areas for people to get jobs and for businesses to locate with reduced tax requirements.

□ 1520

Provide them with opportunity to provide jobs for people by giving them a targeted job tax credit and giving them capital gains tax breaks, providing all the social net programs to help people become productive and earn a wage and pay taxes and be part of their community. That is thrown out the window with the balanced budget amendment. We will not touch that concept.

That is what we are talking about here. Maybe this is the necessary bitter pill that America needs to restore a sound economy. The trouble with that is many economists believe this radical balanced budget approach would damage the economy, not help it. It would risk causing more frequent recessions and make the recessions longer and deeper.

It would also rob America of its ability to invest in the things that promote long-term growth at a time when it has never been more critical. We are losing our productive edge in this country.

One of the reasons, our infrastructure, that big word, but basically that means our roads, bridges, schools, our public facilities are falling apart. Sixteen percent of our roads in this country need repair. Two bridges a day fall apart. Thirty-one percent of our schools were built before 1950. I could go on and on and talk about the need to restore our sewer and our water systems, things that we have put off over these past 12 years that we have got to make up and catch up on so that we can be competitive.

After all, we are in a recession that is virtually 2 years old. Let us not forget that. And while there has been in recent days and in recent weeks some positive economic news that we are starting to inch our way out of this recession, we are still in a 2-year deep prolonged recession; 7.2 percent, almost 10 million of our people are out of work. And if we take that figure and apply it specifically to those who are not even on the rolls because they have become discouraged from looking for work, I am talking about that 17- to 30-year-old in the urban area, if we add them to the unemployment rolls as well as the people who cannot find full-time work, working only part-time, it is about 14 percent of the American people without full-time employment. Nearly 1.7 million have been out of work for more than 26 weeks. In my State of Michigan the rate is 9.4 percent and climbing. Over half a million people out of work in Michigan. That is just the official rate, as I have told my colleagues.

At times like these it is essential that we retain the flexibility to deal with that right here. That is a second reason the balanced budget amendment now being discussed would be disastrous. The radical amendment that is

being proposed would give the minority veto power over vital spending decisions during the worst times of economic hardship. Under the amendment of my colleague from Texas, we would have to do more cutting during a recession than during a period of growth, just the opposite of what we need. After all, cutting Government spending slows the economy even more. To balance it during hard times could tip us into a recession.

There is a third reason this amendment is a recipe for disaster. I will give it in two words: Social Security. This solution could take over \$100 billion, the solution of the gentleman from Texas, out of Social Security COLA's alone. I cannot accept that. We cannot have a plan that takes away the basic promise we have made to all Americans, the promise of a secure retirement, the promise that they and their employers have paid into all their working life.

We cannot tell 46 million people who receive Social Security retirement disability benefits in this country, SSI benefits, that they are going to lose them, lose them after they have been promised them by their Government. We should not fix the budget by breaking the sacred promise that we made to our elderly and disabled.

Mr. Speaker, I do not always agree with editorial writers, and I think my colleagues know that. I think sometimes they live in a fairyland of offices and books and do not catch the pulse and the reality of what is happening in the country. But I must tell my colleagues, this time the chorus of editorials denouncing this idea have been precisely on target. We just do not have to look at the headlines in the newspaper, read the editorials: "Trivializing the Constitution," the Washington Post; "A Silly Balanced Budget Amendment," the Atlanta Constitution; "Fix the Budget, Not the Constitution," the Seattle Times; "Washington Offers Sleight of Hand," the Detroit Free Press.

Why are they so severe in their criticism? They are severe because they know the truth. There is not a single tool we need to produce a balanced budget that we do not already have here in Washington. The President complains about the budget deficit, and his call for a balanced budget is simply a copout. He and President Reagan chose not to send us a balanced budget because they have never wanted to outline the kind of cuts and tax increases necessary to do the job, but they could have produced one at any time they chose simply by giving the Office of Management and Budget the orders to do so.

Now there are those that argue this way. They say, "Well, States balance their budgets, why shouldn't Washington?"

Remember this fact, most States are required to balance their operating

budgets, not their total budgets, not their capital budgets, their operating budgets. The Federal budget has a far larger impact on the economy than States budgets do. Balancing the Michigan State budget will not cause a recession. Balancing the Federal budget can, especially in a time of recession that we find ourselves in today.

With this amendment States will not be able to balance their budgets without big increases in State taxes.

Mr. Speaker, this country has urgent needs. There are millions out of work. We have had the lowest economic growth since World War II. We are losing 9,400 jobs a month. We have lost that amount at that rate for the last 3 years. The problem is not just the pink slip to those people who are out of work. Working families, people who have jobs now, are terribly squeezed on every front. It requires two and sometimes three people in households in Michigan to maintain the standard of living at which they were accustomed with one worker not too many years ago. Families have been squeezed from every angle, squeezed by the recession, by a health care system whose costs are increasing more than 3 times the rate of wages. Squeezed by an educational system that has seen its college tuition costs rise 88 percent in the last decade, squeezed by tough competition from abroad that has led Americans to see "Made in Japan" labels on everything from TVs to telephones. We need to be debating on the unemployment bill that the President still opposes. We need to be debating the growth package. We need to be debating health care reform. We need to be debating issues of industrial policy so we know where we are going in specific industries in the next 4 or 5 or 6 years.

Where are we going to be in terms of sales and competitiveness with our European corporate counterparts and nations by the year 2000 in biotechnology, in automobiles, in computers, in semiconductors? We need to be debating how we are going to be competitive in this new regionalization of trade that is emerging in Asia and in America and in Europe.

□ 1530

We do not need to be debating this appealing but misguided idea of a balanced budget amendment. Woodrow Wilson once wrote that, and I quote:

The Constitution of the United States is not a mere lawyer's document. It is a vehicle of life and its spirit is always the spirit of the age.

Mr. Speaker, we need to balance the budget. We did so with great skill for almost 200 years. We have the tools to do the job now. All we need is the courage. Let us make those tough choices. We all agree where we should go. Let us make sure we take the right road to get there.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues, before they cast their vote on this critically important debate that we will have on this radial approach to the Constitution a week from today, or a week from tomorrow, that they consider the implications of this most serious of vehicles to our national economic and constitutional health. It will be one of the most important debates that we could have engaged in this 102d Congress.

There are many things that need to be done in this country and many issues to be debated and compromised on. This amendment will cause irreparable harm to the programs, to the tax base, and to the welfare of the people that we represent. It sounds good, it sounds magic, but words are not magic, not when it comes to the budget. What is magic is the will and the fortitude and courage to face up to the realities and choices that we have. We have a unique opportunity to begin that process because of the changing world situation, because of the diminished defense needs as a result of the end of the cold war, the break up of the former Soviet Union, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. We have a unique opportunity to rebuild again what was once the heart and soul of the industrial base of the Free world. I urge my colleagues not to give away that opportunity with this amendment, not to give away hope to those who are hopeless in our urban areas with this amendment, not to give away hope for those who want a good education at our colleges and universities by passing this amendment, not to give away those who want to feel safe on our streets because of the crime that surrounds many of our neighborhoods by voting for this amendment.

The choice will be very clear, and I ask my colleagues to rise above partisanship, to rise above their own political needs, and do what is right, do what is right for their country, for their constituencies, and for the document that has served us so very, very well for over 200 years, the Constitution.

ANNUAL REPORT OF ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, FISCAL YEAR 1991—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HURTO) laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on Public Works and Transportation.

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation's Annual Report for fiscal year

1991. This report has been prepared in accordance with section 10 of the Saint Lawrence Seaway Act of May 13, 1954 (33 U.S.C. 989(a)), and covers the period October 1, 1990, through September 30, 1991.

GEORGE BUSH.

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 2, 1992.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY, 1991—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Annual Report for 1991.

The report provides information about the nature and significance of treaties signed during the year, the conduct of arms control negotiations, the coordination of treaty implementation procedures, and other activities conducted pursuant to the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended.

The international security environment, which has changed considerably since the submission of last year's report, continues to evolve. Our bilateral arms control agenda, including the START treaty that is reviewed extensively in Chapter 2, continues. At the same time, our efforts to curb proliferation and deal with the regional conflicts have been expanded, and the implementation of the growing number of existing treaties and agreements has become more demanding. The work of arms control, therefore, is expanding.

As our defense program reorders its priorities, our arms control program is doing the same as a consequence of the changed East-West relationship.

GEORGE BUSH.

THE WHITE HOUSE, June 2, 1992.

WHERE HAVE YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY DOLLARS GONE?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. STARK] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, a number of constituents, mostly seniors, have been writing to my office asking what has happened to their Social Security money. There's a lot of folks out there trying to convince them that it's been stolen, so they've been writing to me with a lot of questions. Here is my response:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN, I am outraged that Washington politicians have spent every penny of our Social Security Trust Fund on *** wasteful and unnecessary government

spending programs *** now the money is completely gone. This is outright theft!

That's what the postcards coming into my office scream.

The stolen Social Security funds postcards are part of a campaign to raise money for a bunch of fastbuck artists who scare people into contributing to their cause. They take the money and pay themselves fancy salaries and use the rest to send out another scary mailing.

But a lot of people believe it. In the budget poll I sent out this spring, I got more questions about Social Security spending as part of the budget than I did on any other issue.

I thought it would help to lay out some facts. If anyone doesn't believe what I am about to say, please let me know and I'll send you the proof.

Basically, I get three kinds of worrying questions about Social Security:

Where is all the money that's supposed to be in the trust funds?

Why is Social Security treated as part of the Federal budget when it is supposed to be a separate trust fund?

How come money is going to people who never contributed?

Where is all the money in the trust fund?

Or if it is not in gold bars I can see and feel, is it really there?

Let's trace what happens to your Social Security taxes:

Almost every American worker pays 7.65 percent of his or her payroll in taxes for Social Security retirement, disability, and Medicare insurance on a certain amount of their wages. The employer matches it with another 7.65 percent. The money goes in the form of a check to the Treasury Department, earmarked for the Social Security and Medicare trust funds, where it is cashed.

What does the Treasury do with the cash that belongs to the Social Security trust funds?

Let's think of the options:

They could put all that cold cash under the world's biggest mattress, or—pretty much the same thing—in a vault in Fort Knox and earmark it for the trust funds.

It would be safe. You could see it. Every year someone could run their hands through it to really make sure it was real. It would also not earn interest. In fact with roughly 3–4 percent a year inflation, it would gradually lose value. About every 20 years the value of this cold cash would be cut in half because of inflation. That's not a great way to prepare for the millions of baby boomers who will start retiring in about 20 years.

They could invest it in gold bars and put it in Fort Knox in the name of the trust funds.

Same problem: no interest, and worse, the world price of gold can move up and down pretty dramatically. Most of the gold in the world comes from Russia and South Africa. If they produce more, the price goes down and the Social Security investment could be largely wiped out.

They could buy stocks and bonds on Wall Street or they could buy something very tangible like land and put it in the name of the Social Security trust funds.

Some years that would be great. The stock market has been bullish and rising for a long, long time now. But some of you remember 1929. All of us remember 5 years ago when

the market fell a shocking 508 points in 1 day. As for land, the collapse of land values is one of the reasons about 20 percent of the S&L's in the country are bankrupt and a whole lot of banks are in deep trouble.

Could we come up with something safer? Japanese yen? German marks? Diamonds? Cans of caviar? I think not.

So it comes down to this:

How much do we want to gamble on the retirement income of tens of millions of people? If we don't want to gamble too much—if you want a sure-thing, safe, conservative investment, where should Treasury invest that cash on behalf of the Social Security trust funds?

U.S. Treasury notes and savings bonds.

One of the safest, most dependable investments in the world are U.S. Government notes or savings bonds. They may not get the best rate of return; they may not be flashy or the way to strike it rich—but boy are they safe. So that's what Treasury does; it takes the cash from your Social Security taxes, buys bonds from another part of the Treasury Department, and gives those bonds to the Social Security trust fund.

The bonds earn interest. Last year, the Social Security trust funds earned about \$19,800,000,000—that's \$19.8 billion—in interest which it reinvested in Treasury bonds belonging to the Social Security trust fund. When Social Security needs cash to pay a retiree, it goes back to Treasury, turns the bond in, and gets back cash, plus interest, which it sends to the beneficiary.

So what happened to the cash in the Treasury? The postcards say it was stolen and spent on wasteful Government programs.

Since the Government is currently running a deficit, every penny of cash is spent on running the day-to-day operations of the Government: the Alameda Naval Station, rebuilding the Nimitz Highway, FAA flight controllers' salaries, you name it. You may say that some Government programs are wasteful, but I don't think you can say the money has been stolen. It has been loaned, just as a private bank loans and spends the money you put into a savings account or CD.

Is there any chance that it could be stolen, that someday Social Security will knock on Treasury's door and say they'd like cash for some bonds and Treasury will laugh and say "go away"?

We've never done that in 203 years, even in the middle of a Civil War, not even when the British burned Washington. The U.S. Government is currently in no danger of going bankrupt or defaulting on its obligations. Any defaulting future government would probably be lynched by the 40 to 50 million people dependent on Social Security—as well as the beneficiaries of every other Government program—and if not lynched, they'd surely be defeated in the next election. In short, we shouldn't stay up at night worrying about it!

That's the true story.

The next time some demagog wants you to send him money to save the Social Security trust fund, please don't waste your 29 cents writing him. And for goodness sake, don't send him any money!

Why is Social Security still listed in the Federal budget calculations when it is a separate trust fund?

There are lots of different ways and reasons for figuring the Federal budget. One reason is to understand the total impact of all Federal programs and taxes on the total economy.

To ignore Social Security spending and taxes would be to say that the Federal Government is having about 20 percent—or \$300 billion—less impact on the economy than it really does.

That's a lot to ignore.

How come money is going to people who never contributed?

It's not.

If you or someone in your family did not contribute, you don't get Social Security trust fund money. You are ineligible.

If you know someone who is getting Social Security who doesn't fall into one of the above categories, let me know—anonously if you want—and we'll get the auditors to check it out.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. LEACH) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. BILIRAKIS, for 60 minutes, on June 16.

Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. SMITH of Oregon, for 60 minutes, on June 3.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. WYDEN) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. MONTGOMERY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. ANNUNZIO, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. WYDEN, for 30 minutes, today.

Mr. MAZZOLI, for 60 minutes, today.

Mr. OBEY, for 60 minutes, today.

Mr. CARPER, for 60 minutes, on June 3.

Mr. PAYNE of Virginia, for 60 minutes, on June 3.

Mr. OBEY, for 60 minutes each day, on June 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, July 1, 2, and 3.

Mr. ATKINS, for 5 minutes, on June 3.

(The following Member (at the request of Mr. BONIOR) to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. STARK, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. LEACH) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. CLINGER.

Mr. BROOMFIELD.

Mr. GILMAN in two instances.

Mr. MCGRATH.

Mr. LEACH.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. WYDEN) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ROE in two instances.

Mrs. COLLINS of Michigan.

Mr. FASCELL in two instances.

Mr. HOYER.

Mr. BONIOR.

Mr. BROWN.

Mr. BLACKWELL in two instances.

Mr. FORD of Michigan.

Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts in two instances.

Mr. BILBRAY.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 35 minutes p.m.) under its previous order, the House adjourned until Wednesday, June 3, 1992, at noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

3630. A letter from the Chairman, Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting a copy of D.C. act 9-220, "District of Columbia Noise Control Amendment Act of 1992," pursuant to D.C. Code, section 1-233(c)(1); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

3631. A letter from the Acting Assistant General Counsel, Department of Energy, transmitting notice of meetings related to the International Energy Program; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

3632. A letter from the Secretary, Interstate Commerce Commission, transmitting notification that it has extended the time period for acting on the appeal in Ex Parte No. 346 (Sub-No. 14A), pursuant to 49 U.S.C. 10327(k); to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

3633. A letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notification of the Department of the Air Force's proposed letter(s) of offer and acceptance [LOA] to Saudi Arabia for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 92-28), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3634. A letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notification of the Department of the Army's proposed letter(s) of offer and acceptance [LOA] to Saudi Arabia for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 92-29), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3635. A letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notification of the Department of the Army's proposed letter(s) of offer and acceptance [LOA] to Saudi Arabia for defense articles and services (Transmittal No. 92-25), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3636. A letter from the Acting Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting notification of the Department of the Air Force's proposed letter(s) of offer and acceptance [LOA] to Saudi Arabia for de-

fense articles and services (Transmittal No. 92-26), pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3637. A letter from the Administrator, Agency for International Development, transmitting progress in conserving tropical forests and biological diversity in developing countries, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2151p; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

3638. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, transmitting the 1991 annual report on the financial status of the military retirement system, pursuant to 31 U.S.C. 9503; to the Committee on Government Operations.

3639. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Election Commission, transmitting a copy of the semiannual report on activities of the inspector general for the period October 1, 1991 through March 31, 1992, pursuant to Public Law 95-452, section 5(b) (102 Stat. 2526); to the Committee on Government Operations.

3640. A letter from the Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting the semiannual report of the inspector general and the management response of the Securities and Exchange Commission, pursuant to Public Law 95-452, section 5(b) (102 Stat. 2526); to the Committee on Government Operations.

3641. A letter from the Secretary, Department of the Interior, transmitting the 21st annual report of the actual operation during water year 1991 for the reservoirs along the Colorado River; projected plan of operation for water year 1992, pursuant to 43 U.S.C. 1552(b); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. §611.11

3642. A letter from the Secretary of Energy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "Power Marketing Administration Timely Payment Act"; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

3643. A letter from the Director, Federal Judicial Center, transmitting the 1991 annual report of the Federal Judicial Center, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. 623(b); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

3644. A letter from the Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration, transmitting the report of progress on developing and certifying the traffic alert and collision avoidance system [TCAS], pursuant to Public Law 100-223, section 203(b) (101 Stat. 1518); jointly, to the Committees on Public Works and Transportation and Science, Space, and Technology.

3645. A letter from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "Puerto Rico Medicaid Improvement Act of 1992"; jointly, to the Committees on Ways and Means and Energy and Commerce.

3646. A letter from the Federal Reserve System, Board of Governors, transmitting a copy of a report on concerns relating to the soundness, stability, and integrity of domestic and international capital markets, pursuant to Public Law 101-432, section 8(a) (104 Stat. 976); jointly, to the Committees on Energy and Commerce, Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, and Agriculture.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI: Committee on Ways and Means. H.R. 5260. A bill to extend the emergency unemployment compensation

program, to revise the trigger provisions contained in the extended unemployment compensation program, and for other purposes. (Rep. 102-543, Pt.1). Ordered to be printed.

Mr. FROST: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 474. Resolution providing for the consideration of H.R. 5006, a bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for military functions of the Department of Defense, to prescribe military personnel levels for fiscal year 1993, and for other purposes (Rept. 102-545). Referred to the House Calendar.

REPORTED BILLS SEQUENTIALLY REFERRED

Under clause 5 of rule X, bills and reports were delivered to the Clerk for printing, and bills referred as follows:

Mr. McCURDY: Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. H.R. 5095. A bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the U.S. Government and the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System, and for other purposes with amendments; referred to the Committee on Armed Services for a period ending not later than June 15, 1992, for consideration of such provisions of the bill and amendment as fall within the jurisdiction of that committee pursuant to clause 1(c) of rule X. (Rept. 102-544, Pt. 1). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 5 of rule X and clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. EDWARDS of Texas (for himself, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mr. GEREN of Texas, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. EVANS, Mr. JONES of Georgia, Mr. FISH, and Mr. HAYES of Illinois):

H.R. 5303. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to make the targeted jobs credit permanent and to treat as a member of a targeted group every individual who has received a Department of Defense campaign ribbon, liberation ribbon, or national defense service medal; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts:

H.R. 5304. A bill to provide that a State court may not modify an order of another State court requiring the payment of child support unless the recipient of child support payments resides in the State in which the modification is sought, or consents to seeking the modification in such other State court; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SCHUMER:

H.R. 5305. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, with respect to environmental crimes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WYDEN:

H.R. 5306. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permit amounts in State unemployment funds to be used to provide self-employment allowances; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PETERSON of Florida:

H.R. 5307. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to remove the limitations on the number of units of the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps that may be established and maintained at secondary educational institutions that apply for such units; to the Committee on Armed Services.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials, were presented and referred as follows:

463. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Senate of the State of Hawaii, relative to the exoneration of Captain Charles Butler McVay III; to the Committee on Armed Services.

464. Also, memorial of the Senate of the State of Hawaii, relative to the exoneration of Captain Charles Butler McVay II; to the Committee on Armed Services.

465. Also, memorial of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, relative to the Pennsylvania Army and Air National Guard, to the Committee on Armed Services.

466. Also, memorial of the Senate of the State of Hawaii, relative to requesting the Congress to support legislation proposed in "The Earthquake Project"; to the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs.

467. Also, memorial of the Senate of the State of Hawaii, relative to the antiprostosterone steroid mifepristone, known as RU-486; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

468. Also, memorial of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, relative to breast cancer; to the Committee on Energy and Commerce.

469. Also, memorial of the Senate of the State of Hawaii, relative to the United States to commit to strong environmental leadership at the United Nations' Conference on Environment and Development; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

470. Also, memorial of the Senate of the State of Hawaii, relative to the United States to commit to strong environmental leadership at the United Nations' Conference on Environment and Development; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

471. Also, memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Hawaii, relative to Guam in their quest for commonwealth status with the United States; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

472. Also, memorial of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of the Mariana Islands, relative to political union with the United States; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

473. Also, memorial of the Senate of the State of Iowa, relative to the Missouri River Fish and Wildlife Mitigation Project; to the Committee on Public Works and Transportation.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 431: Mr. ORTON.

H.R. 540: Mr. VISCLOSKEY.

H.R. 911: Mr. RIGGS, Mr. ALLARD, Mr. WISE, Mr. NUSSLE, and Mr. VALENTINE.

H.R. 962: Mr. WEISS.

H.R. 1536: Mr. HAYES of Illinois, Mr. SAVAGE, Mr. MFUME, and Mr. WOLPE.

H.R. 1809: Mr. MOORHEAD.

H.R. 1886: Mr. MURPHY and Mr. MURTHA.

H.R. 2806: Mr. LANTOS, Mr. RIGGS, Mr. SCHIFF, Mr. CLINGER, and Mr. ROEMER.

H.R. 3222: Ms. KAPTUR and Mr. LEVIN of Michigan.

H.R. 3236: Mr. McCLOSKEY.

H.R. 3472: Mr. ZIMMER.

H.R. 3518: Mr. SANTORUM, Mr. TORRES, Mr. SERRANO, and Mr. WILSON.

H.R. 3542: Mr. MAVROULES.

H.R. 3705: Mr. THOMAS of Wyoming.

H.R. 3953: Mr. EVANS, Mr. JONTZ, Mr. ROSE, Mr. WILLIAMS, and Mr. FISH.

H.R. 4002: Mr. HUGHES, Mr. TORRICELLI, and Mr. FISH.

H.R. 4204: Mr. WHEAT.

H.R. 4222: Mrs. MINK and Mr. TAUZIN.

H.R. 4310: Ms. NORTON and Mr. SAXTON.

H.R. 4354: Mr. OWENS of Utah.

H.R. 4376: Mr. JONTZ.

H.R. 4490: Mr. ENGEL.

H.R. 4507: Mr. COOPER, Mr. MARKEY, Mrs. MINK, Mr. SHAW, Mr. ESPY, Mr. SWIFT, Mr. McDERMOTT, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. SUNDQUIST, and Mr. IRELAND.

H.R. 4567: Mr. LEHMAN of California.

H.R. 4613: Mr. RIGGS.

H.R. 4706: Mr. WHEAT.

H.R. 4829: Mr. ENGEL.

H.R. 4924: Mr. DELLUMS.

H.R. 4991: Mr. SAVAGE, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. BROWN, Mr. GEJDESON, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. MANTON, and Mr. HOAGLAND.

H.R. 4996: Mr. HAMILTON, Mr. FROST, Mr. FISH, and Mr. HAYES of Illinois.

H.R. 5073: Mr. BRUCE.

H.R. 5079: Mrs. LOWEY of New York and Mr. McCLOSKEY.

H.R. 5206: Mr. MINETA.

H.R. 5216: Mr. STEARNS and Mr. NATCHER.

H.R. 5219: Mr. BEILSON, Mr. NOWAK, and Mr. GEJDESON.

H.R. 5240: Mr. SWIFT, Mr. ROE, Mr. McMILLEN of Maryland, Mr. GALLO, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. KOSTMAYER, and Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts.

H.R. 5282: Mr. FAWELL and Mr. VISCLOSKEY.

H.J. Res. 271: Mr. STOKES and Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts.

H.J. Res. 353: Mr. BATEMAN, Mr. BUSTAMANTE, Mrs. COLLINS of Michigan, Mr. DARDEN, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. EVANS, Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER, and Mr. SMITH of Texas.

H.J. Res. 378: Mr. ENGEL.

H.J. Res. 380: Mr. CARDIN, Mr. GORDON, Mr. WHITTEN, Mr. QUILLLEN, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. TANNER, Mr. COOPER, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. HENRY, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. WISE, Mr. VANDER JAGT, Mr. REED, Mr. BUNNING, Mr. MORAN, Mr. SWETT, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, Mr. RICHARDSON, and Mr. SUNDQUIST.

H.J. Res. 391: Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. DELAY, Mr. ARCHER, Mr. PRICE, and Mr. MCNULTY.

H.J. Res. 393: Mr. DEFAZIO, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. EARLY, Mr. BONIOR, Mr. McCLOSKEY, Mrs. MINK, Mrs. COLLINS of Michigan, Mr. CALLAHAN, Mr. HASTERT, Mr. MACHTLEY, Mr. GRANDY, Mr. STARK, Mr. HARRIS, Mr. FOGLETTA, Mr. HAYES of Illinois, Mr. COOPER, and Mr. RAY.

H.J. Res. 411: Mr. JONES of North Carolina and Mr. HAYES of Illinois.

H.J. Res. 426: Mr. LANCASTER and Mr. QUILLLEN.

H.J. Res. 478: Mr. POSHARD and Mr. MANTON.

H.J. Res. 483: Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut and Mr. ROSE.

H. Con. Res. 180: Mr. STARK, Mr. SANDERS, and Mr. SCHUMER.

H. Con. Res. 282: Mr. ANDREWS of New Jersey, Mr. ANTHONY, Mr. HOAGLAND, Mr. DONNELLY, Mr. SAVAGE, and Mr. SIKORSKI.

H. Con. Res. 297: Mr. GEJDESON.

H. Con. Res. 305: Mr. GUARINI, Mr. ATKINS, and Mr. LEVINE of California.

H. Con. Res. 316: Mr. SMITH of Florida, Mr. SCHREUER, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, Mr. KOPETSKI, Mr. ZELIFF, Mr. HOCHBRUECKNER, Mr. MANTON, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. MACHTLEY, Mr. BEILSON, Ms. MOLINARI, Mr. BERMAN, and Mr. WEISS.

H. Res. 204: Mr. FIELDS.

H. Res. 422: Ms. HORN, Mr. WOLPE, Mr. ESPY, Mr. GUARINI, Mr. MRAZEK, Mrs.

SCHROEDER, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. PETRI, Mrs. UNSOELD, Mr. KLUG, Mr. LAGOMARSINO, Mr. LUKEN, Mr. McNULTY, and Mr. TOWNS.

H. Res. 448: Mr. DANNEMEYER, Mr. ZELIFF, and Mr. HORTON.

PETITIONS. ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

159. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the Office of the Mayor, the city of East Orange, NJ, relative to the brutal beating of Rodney King; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.